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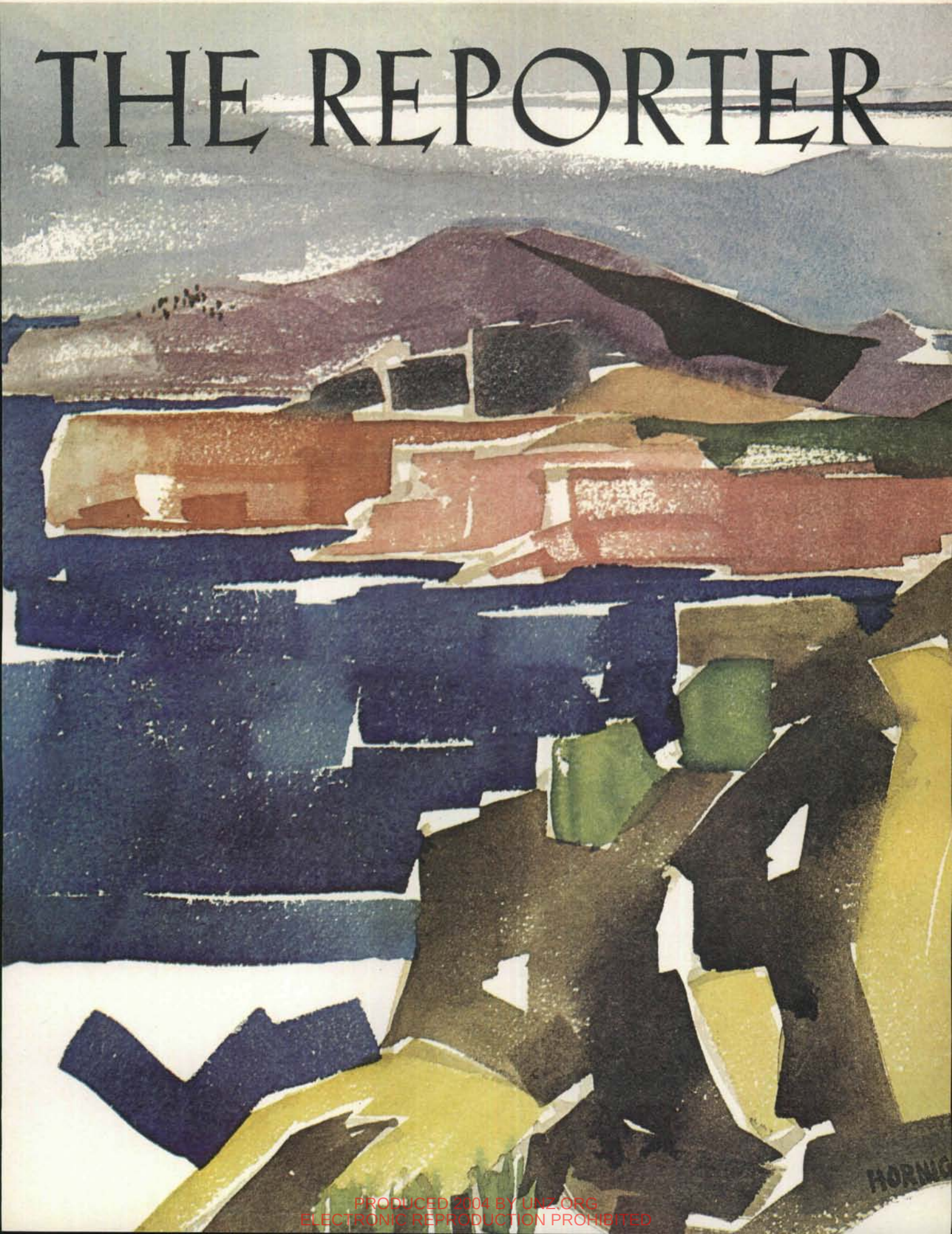

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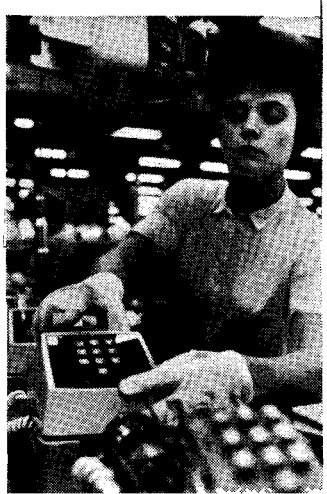

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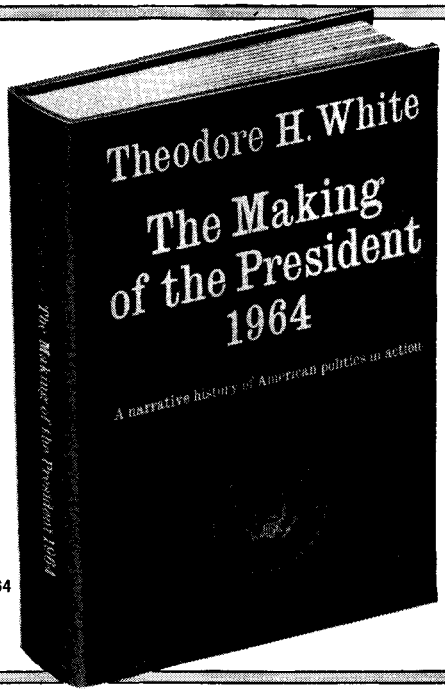

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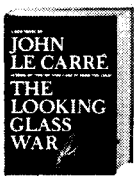

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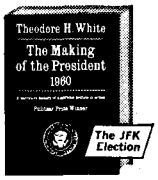

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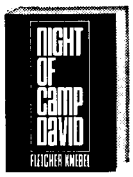

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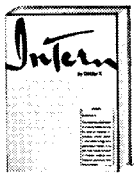

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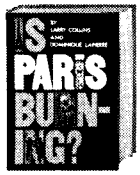

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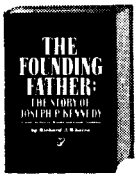

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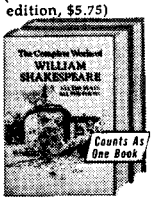

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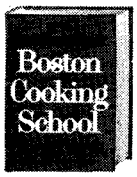

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DOUBLEDAY

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

A MAJOR turning point in U.S. history was marked on March 12, 1947, when President Truman asked Congress for funds to defend Greece and Turkey against Communism on the grounds that ". . . it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." Later in his famous Truman Doctrine speech, he observed that "The world is not static," and now, after eighteen years during which Greece and Turkey have been among our most unswerving allies, changes in both countries are cause for concern in Washington.

In contrast with Stalin's brute force, Soviet designs in the area are pursued today by diplomatic maneuvering. Moscow changed its attitude toward Turkey to a more favorable one, weakened Turkey's unconditional support of the United States, and contributed to the tension in Greece when the Greek leftists found a leader in old man Papandreou. Anti-Americanism has cropped up in both capitals. **George Bailey,** reporting from Athens, describes the role of a group of Greek-American intellectuals in the current crisis, while **Claire Sterling,** writing from Ankara, tells how Ismet Inönü, the Grand Old Man of Turkish politics, is also looking for the Left's support at home and abroad.

THE DREAD of a proliferation of Appalachias was very much in the minds of a number—or at least one—of the legislators when the first regional development plan was passed by Congress. The worried member was more astute than his colleagues, for such bids fair to be the case. Although the needs of various parts of the country are real, the value of the regional approach is still on trial. Yet even before the experimental and expensive regional development approach has had a chance to be tested in the Appalachian states, as **Don Oberdorfer,** a Washington correspondent of the Knight Newspapers, points out, lawmakers, East and West, have begun dreaming of new pork-barrel empires of their own. . . . The secession of Singapore from Malaysia last month may stand as of equal historic importance with the fall of Singapore to the Japanese, according to **Denis Warner,** our correspondent in Southeast Asia. Unless the shock of the move spurs both sides into the kind of political and economic co-operation that was so sorely lacking in the federation, the independence of Singapore and the viability of the sprawling Malaysian states will be in grave danger. . . . A collection of our cartoonist's observations on life, *The Possible Worlds of Fernando Krahn,* has just been brought out by Dutton. . . . The current unprecedented national prosperity provided a bizarre background for the tragic events in Los Angeles; and yet, **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** writes, they are intimately related. While national unemployment is down, more and more Negroes are jobless. Mr. Moynihan resigned as Assistant Secretary of Labor to seek the Democratic nomination for president of the New York City Council. . . . **Philippe Ben,** a correspondent of *Le Monde* of Paris, attended the recent Romanian Communist Party congress in Bucharest. . . . The National Education Association has insisted that Oklahoma raise its school expenditures and has invoked a new weapon—sanctions—to win its goals. **Barbara Carter,** a former staff writer, is at work on a book about the New York City mayoralty race.

THAT CLASSIC staging problem—the suiting of action to word, of word to action—is the theme of **Robert Hapgood's** examination of the current Shakespearean season at Stratford, Connecticut. Mr. Hapgood, who has been preparing a new theatrical edition of *Hamlet,* will teach this coming year at the University of New Hampshire. His work has appeared in such academic publications as *Drama Survey, Tulane Drama Review,* and *Shakespeare Survey.* . . . **Santha Rama Rau** was born in Madras and is the author of many books about India. These include *Home to India, East of Home,* and *Gifts of Passage* (all Harper) as well as the dramatized version of *A Passage to India* (Harcourt). . . . **Gordon A. Craig,** professor of history at Stanford University, is a specialist in military history. . . . **Gerald Weales,** who is on leave from the University of Pennsylvania to write several books, is a frequent contributor. . . . **Roland Gelatt** is the author of *The Music Makers: Some Outstanding Performers of Our Time* (Knopf), and editor of *High Fidelity.*

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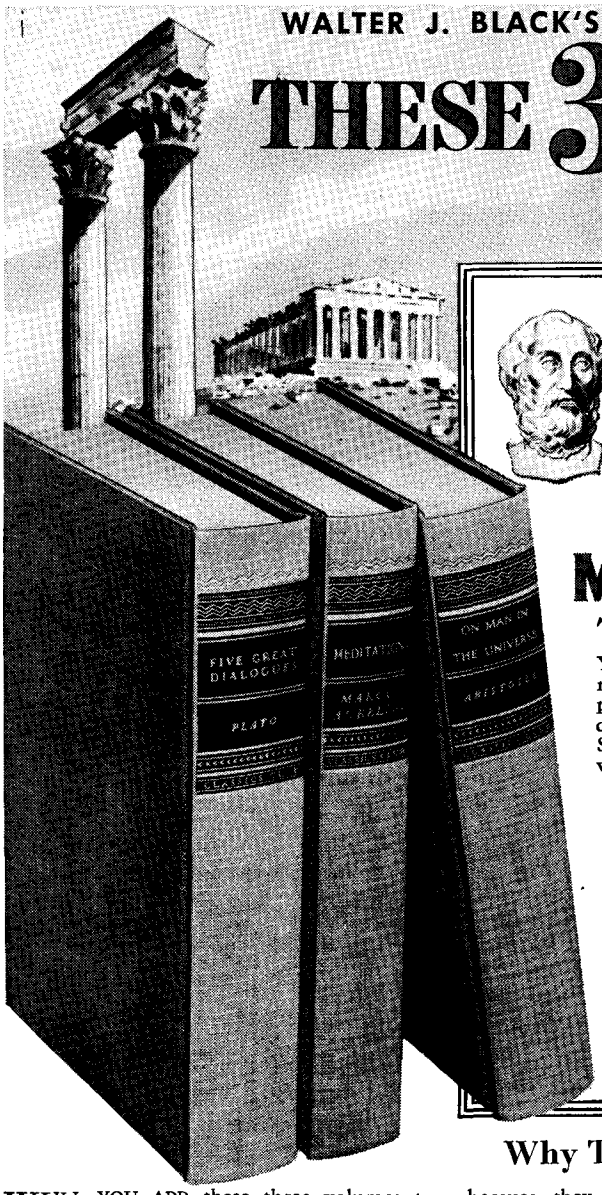

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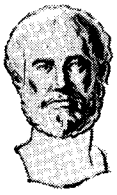

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CORRESPONDENCE

MR. SHRIVER PROTESTS

To the Editor: Since your article by Barbara Carter ("The Great Society: A Man with a Problem," *The Reporter*, May 20) commented on the sponsorship, under my direction, by the Office of Economic Opportunity of the program for pre-school children, known as Project Head Start, I am taking the liberty of responding.

The article contains gross inaccuracies which could have been checked readily by a phone call. For example, Dr. Martin Deutsch is quoted as indicating that a pre-school program should cost $1,000 to $1,200 per child for an eight-month period. These are precisely the costs we have estimated for next year. Dr. Deutsch, in one of his three visits to this office, could have determined this had he cared to inquire.

I have, of course, been aware of the work of Dr. Deutsch—among many others—in the field of early childhood education. Indeed, I have been sufficiently aware of it to have approved a grant to his institution in support of his work to the tune of $558,480 for the forthcoming year. As he indicates in the interview, he has been called upon frequently for consultation by this office.

Aside from his feelings of personal sensitivity concerning his role, the issues raised in the article have been considered by the Planning Committee, a group of experts distinguished for their knowledge of young children. In their report to me they stated:

"Within recent years there has been experimentation and research designed to improve opportunities for the child of poverty. While much of this work is not yet complete there is adequate evidence to support the view that special programs can be devised for these four and five year olds which will improve both the child's opportunities and achievements. . . .

"The need for and urgency of these programs is such that they should be initiated immediately."

I agree with the distinguished group that the time is now. Even if this were not so, I would support this program on an humanitarian basis; our program will provide a more wholesome life for these young children than leaving them to environments characterized by poor food, poor housing, poor health services.

In contrast to Dr. Deutsch, I feel that although we cannot do everything simultaneously, we should do as much as we can. I hope we never arrive at a point where scientific Puritanism will blunt our sensitivities to the lot of those less fortunate than we, and inhibit our efforts to do better.

SARGENT SHRIVER, Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

[*It is difficult to make out the object of Mr. Shriver's reprimand: is it* The Reporter *for having published Miss Carter's article, Miss Carter for having failed to make a telephone call checking on information furnished by Dr. Deutsch, or Dr. Deutsch for not having checked on what he knew already? At the end of Mr. Shriver's letter another possible culprit enters the picture: "scientific Puritanism," which seems to be the pernicious enemy of a wholehearted, wholesale approach, uninhibited by scientific restraint.*

All in all, it was good to read in the press a few days ago that Head Start is going to have a pause, no doubt for reflection. It can well use it.—M.A.]

THE RHODESIAN FRONT

To the Editor: Fabrications, distortions, and half-truths are ingeniously marshaled in Russell Warren Howe's "Rebellion Brews in Rhodesia" *(The Reporter,* June 3) to provide an article based on the false premise that a small oligarchic platform built from racial inequality is being maintained by "poor whites" representing 1.5 per cent of the population. Actually, among the fifty Rhodesian Front members of parliament there are two doctors, a dentist, five lawyers, directors of companies, six engineers, and other professional men. Two of the farmers among these "poor whites" were educated in England at Eton and Oxford, one is a duke, another ex-Sandhurst, and so on.

Howe's contention that the ballot boxes were stuffed is scurrilous and so ridiculous that one wonders why he bothered to make it. A party that wins with such an overwhelming majority surely has no need of such tactics. He claims that the number of voters should have diminished rather than increased, which is based on his own inaccurate contention that the white population has been drained by an exodus "at a rate of 1,500 a month for the past year and a half." Official statistics showed 217,000 whites in the country at the end of 1964 and not 185,000 as he claims.

In contradiction of Howe's statement that "there are only two complete primary schools in the entire country," it may be said that in 1964 there were 640,000 African children at school (ninety-five per cent of the possible attendance, and higher than almost everywhere else in Africa). They had the following institutions open to them: 52 teachers' training schools, 3,155 primary schools, 58 secondary schools. By the end of 1965 the following additional facilities will have been opened: 55 new primary schools (mission), 3 new primary schools (government), 17 new secondary schools (mission), 3 new secondary schools (government). Mission schools are government-aided.

Howe is wrong on the franchise, the

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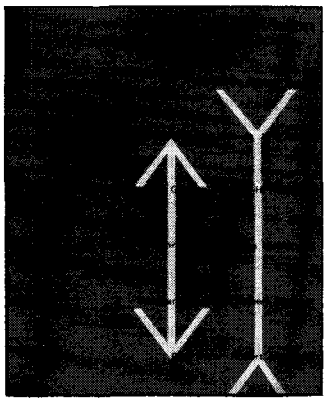

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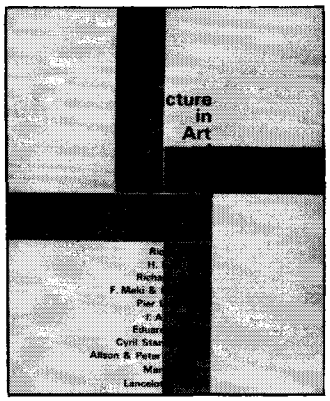

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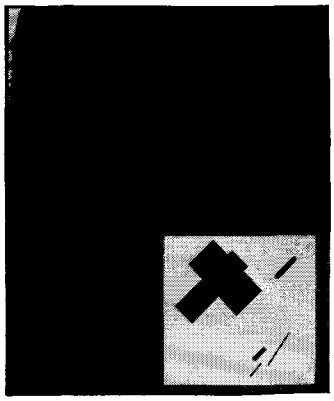

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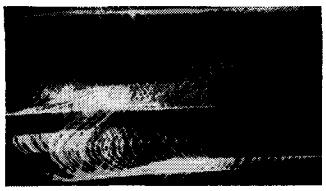

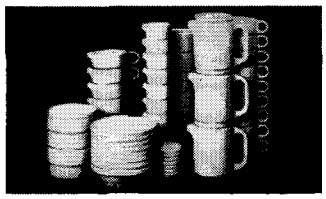

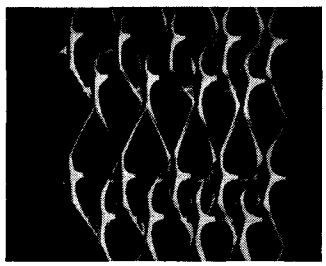

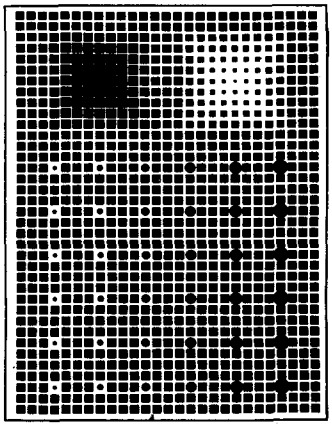

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allocation of seats by color, the voting returns for the last election, the "psychological politics office," and more items than can conveniently be encompassed within this letter. But to deal with his description of settlers as "scum," it might be well to remind him that the United States, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and other countries were founded by the blood, muscles, and sinews of pioneers whom the bigoted and prejudiced of the time no doubt called "scum" in much the same way.

Howe would do a service to the cause he elects to espouse by looking closer at Africa to the north of Rhodesia, where democracy often scarcely survives and where dictatorship has followed closely on the heels of so-called independence. But of course it is not fashionable nor profitable.

D. T. M. WILLIAMS
Deputy Director
Ministry of Information
Salisbury, Rhodesia

Mr. Howe replies:

The Rhodesian Front, like other poor-white parties, is led and financed by wealthier whites. The votership consists mainly of urban whites doing jobs done elsewhere in Africa by Africans. The overwhelming electoral majority to which Mr. Williams refers is, according to government figures, in fact about forty-one per cent of the sixty-two per cent of the predominantly white electorate that took part in the last election —25.42 per cent of the eligible voters, or well under one per cent of adult Rhodesians.

Mr. Williams does not give figures to show how the voting roll could have increased, but his white population growth statistics do not jibe with South Africa's immigration figures showing that 13,200 white Rhodesians entered South Africa alone for residence in 1964. Like the consular and dwindling free press corps in Salisbury, I trust the University of Rhodesia economic department's statistics more than government data.

Mr. Williams's school statistics appear correct. The incorrect figures in my article were not in my manuscript but were added during the research and editing process in New York and were based on errors in a well-known reference work.

The reference to settlers as "scum" is not mine: I was quoting former Prime Minister Garfield Todd, who was noting that anyone white, even unskilled, was admitted to Rhodesia to boost the European population figures.

I have frequently criticized the governments that Africans have given themselves, but their shortcomings can hardly justify those, certainly equally great, which an immigrant community has imposed on Rhodesia.

[*We consider checking and rechecking a necessary part of the editing process, to be used with discretion but not abused. We owe Mr. Howe an apology.*]

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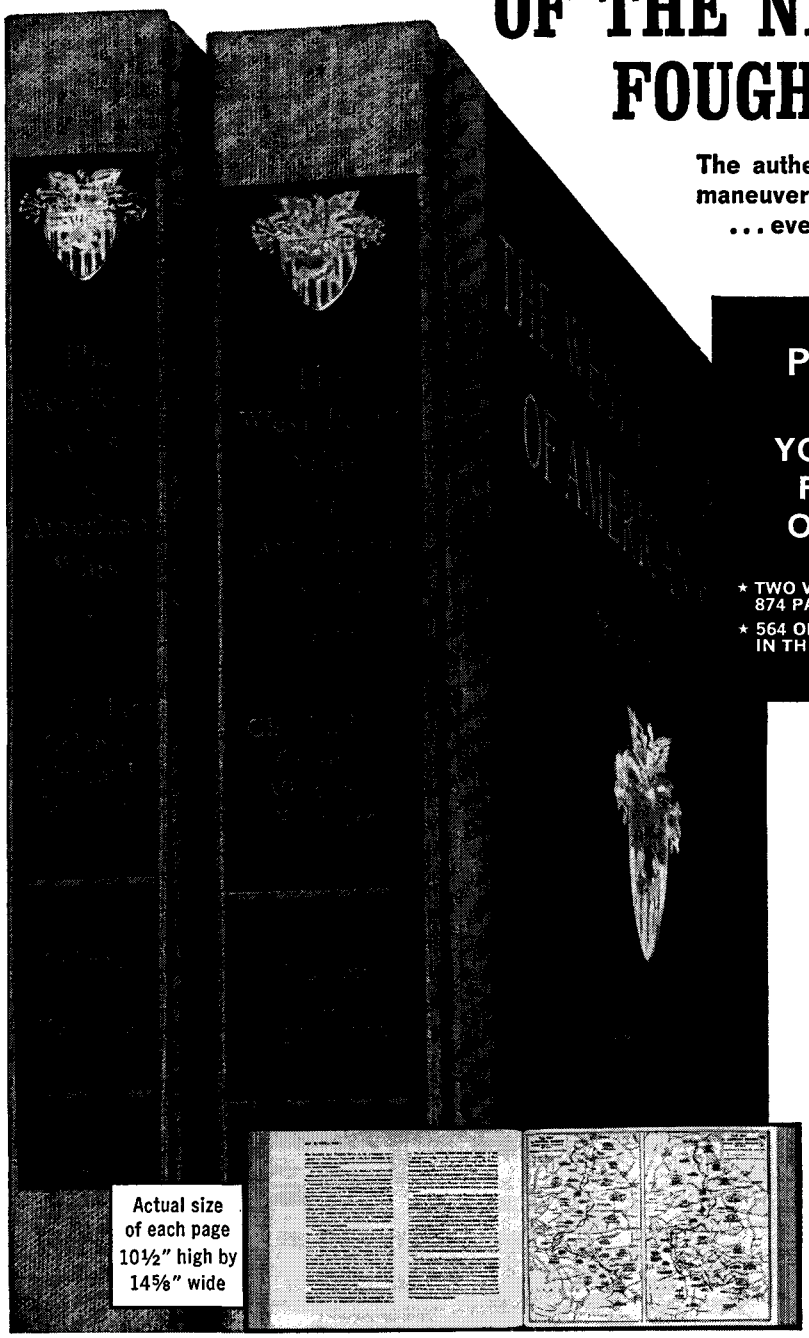

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Sweet Talk

Perhaps nowhere, outside the cozy confines of the National Capital Democratic Club, do sugar lobbyists gather in such numbers and with such camaraderie as when Chairman Harold D. Cooley of the House Agriculture Committee holds his hearings on sugar legislation. Cooley, who takes pride in the fact that the laws regulating sugar are so complicated that few of his colleagues can understand them, spent two days last month listening benignly to the entreaties of lobbyists seeking quotas for nineteen foreign producers ranging from the Dominican Republic to Thailand.

It was hard to remember—amidst the banter between the chairman and the witnesses—that millions of dollars were involved, since each ton of U.S. quota sugar brings a premium of almost $80 above the depressed world market price, and that the distribution of overseas quotas involves serious foreign-policy considerations.

Cooley, introducing Washington lawyer Arthur L. Quinn, who represents four foreign producing countries for fees that run up to $20,000 a client, called him "about the oldest sugar rat in the barn," and then proceeded to credit Quinn with arranging meetings with Latin-American producers that pressured the administration into dropping a proposal to recapture a part of the sugar premium for the Treasury.

"There may be a lot of 'lousy lobbyists' around here," Cooley said at another point in the proceedings, "but one very lovely lobbyist I know is present, this lovely lady, Miss Dina Dellale." Miss Dellale, who represents a group of Central American producers, had some clients in tow. Waving her to the witness chair, the debonair Cooley added, "You can have all the boy friends to accompany you that you wish."

When former Representative Charles H. Brown concluded a presentation in behalf of Fiji Islands producers, Cooley said he thought Brown was "very persuasive at all times" and added he had represented his clients well during the last sugar-legislation hearings in 1962.

The lobbyists usually returned Cooley's praise in kind. Brown told Cooley that the United States "had averted sugar rationing because of the wisdom and foresight of this committee." Quinn said that foreign sugar stability would have been accomplished in 1962 "had the Congress heeded your admonition, Mr. Chairman."

One witness made a more down-to-earth appeal to Cooley, whose home state of North Carolina is the largest producer of tobacco for export. Former Representative George M. Grant, who before his defeat last fall ranked third on Cooley's committee, declared that his client, Thailand, would purchase U.S. tobacco with all the dollars earned if it were given a special 1965 quota. The representative for Indian sugar interests noted that his country was buying U.S. tobacco and the lawyer for Mauritius announced that seventy-four per cent of that island's tobacco imports came from the United States.

When an outsider, Republican committee member Paul Findley of Illinois, attempted to break up the cozy nature of the hearing by asking a lobbyist about his fees, Cooley sharply intervened. "I object to that," the chairman declared. "Don't answer it," he quickly advised the witness and then announced to Findley, "It is none of your business and none of my business what his terms of employment as a lawyer are. He fixes his own fee and his own arrangements."

Cooley's brusqueness stemmed, no doubt, from his memories of 1962, when the Senate used the issue of high sugar-lobbying fees to force a departure from the traditional Cooley system of individual country quotas. The chairman is clearly aware that the issue may again be raised to sour relationships he has worked so hard to sweeten up.

LBJ's Third Veto

The assumption in the capital is that the $1.7-billion military construction bill the President vetoed on August 21 will soon be quietly repassed in a form satisfactory to him, but there has been a lot of speculation over the reason for the veto.

It is only the third public bill vetoed by Mr. Johnson, and the first that has stirred any fuss at all. A few weeks after he took office, he vetoed a minor bill that would have required repackaged imported goods to be labeled with country of origin.

The second veto was much more interesting. Last spring Congress passed a Northwest Flood Relief bill that included a clause that would have required the President to notify the House Public Works Committee and its Senate counterpart of each project that was to be undertaken. Either committee could then turn down any proposal it did not like. The President vetoed the bill, asserting that the offending clause violated the Constitutional separation of powers between the Executive and Legislative branches. The veto, again, was quietly handled, but it served as a warning to Congress not to pass two far more drastic bills that had been reported by two other House committees. One, from the Veterans Affairs Committee, would have allowed either house to veto any closing of a veterans' hospital. The other, from Representative L. Mendel Rivers (D., South Carolina), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, would do the same for any military base.

The flood-relief bill was quickly

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repassed without the offending clause. The hospital bill was dropped after the administration worked out a compromise on a proposed series of VA hospital closings, but Rivers continued to push his idea of a veto over military-base closings by getting the provision written into the big annual military construction authorization. It would, Rivers said, recapture for Congress the control over the armed forces that had been usurped by the Executive branch.

It was clear that the President would never sign any bill containing Rivers's proposal. But Rivers had no trouble getting the bill through the House, where the leadership took the attitude that there was no real harm in humoring Rivers since the Senate would surely knock the provision out when the bill came to conference.

That is essentially what happened. An innocuous-appearing compromise was worked out that merely required the Secretary of Defense to notify Congress during the first four months of a session of any base-closing proposal and then wait 120 days to allow Congress time to review the matter. This meant that McNamara could no longer announce his annual batch of base closings in December, when Congress was out of town. Aside from that, it had no real effect.

It came as a surprise to everyone, then, and as a shock to Rivers, when the President vetoed the bill anyway. There was speculation that he did so because he could not veto the big military-pay bill that came to him at the same time and wanted to do something tough, and the construction bill happened to be available. There is probably some truth in this theory, but the dominant consideration seems to have been to draw the line hard against Congressional encroachments on the Executive branch. The Rivers proposal, even watered down as it was, did go further along these lines than there was precedent for. The President left the door open to compromise by saying that he would accept a more modest notification, and without the restriction to the first four months of the session.

There was noticeable resentment in Congress that the President, who got essentially what he wanted, should have picked a bill already so amended to please him to dramatize his concern about legislative encroachment. Perhaps an underlying reason was to hand a rebuff to Rivers. The Carolinian, who is trying to make his mark in his first term as head of the committee run for so long by the retired Carl Vinson, has been a thorn in the side of the administration. His past performance has demonstrated that he will take advantage of any loophole in the bill in the next session.

Gouverneur Paulding

HE HAD been with this magazine since the beginning, already a close friend of mine when he joined the staff. It was in his nature to establish a close relationship of mutual respect with every member of the staff and with the contributors with whom he dealt. Rarely have I known anybody endowed with such a capacity to elicit in others confidence in themselves—and in him.

Where did it all come from? His secret was a blend of self-possession and selflessness. Throughout his life he adhered to the principles of the Christian faith and his approach to people was based on sympathy, not on sermonizing or proselytizing. That's why he was such a good critic in the fields he knew best: French and Anglo-American literature.

He might have established himself among the great critics. The power was his. What was demanded of him he did well. He knew as few do the value of words, but infinitely more than for words he cared for human beings. There was something in him of the lay priest, utterly dedicated in a spirit of complete humility to his infinitely varied work of human reclamation. It would never have occurred to him to restrict his human contacts within the mold of any one society, considering that among those for whom he cared the most were countless unknown people whom it was impossible to reach—people called enemies for being on the other side of a political line.

I am sure I am not alone in thinking that the Gov we will never forget is the Gov of the last few months: gaunt, deathly pale, with but a shaky whisper left of that voice which used to be manly and robust. Only his soul gave him the strength to move. It never proved to be so indomitable. We all felt it, for well before his illness, our care for Gov, and of Gov for us, was one of the strongest elements keeping our group together.

To me, that nearly transparent Gov was the closest thing to the essence of a dear and most irreplaceable friend. —M.A.

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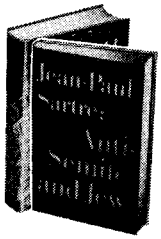

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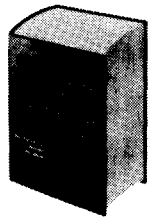

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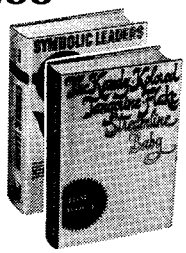

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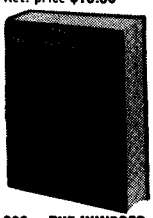

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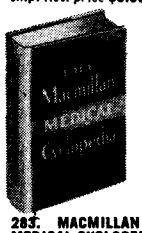

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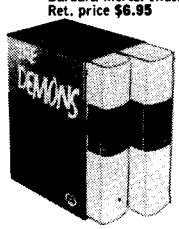

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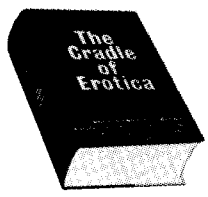

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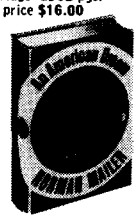

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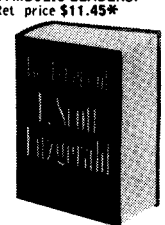

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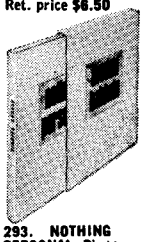

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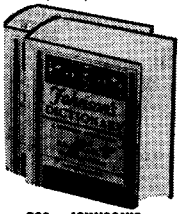

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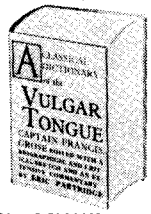

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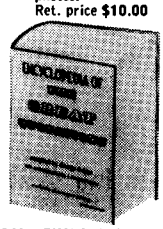

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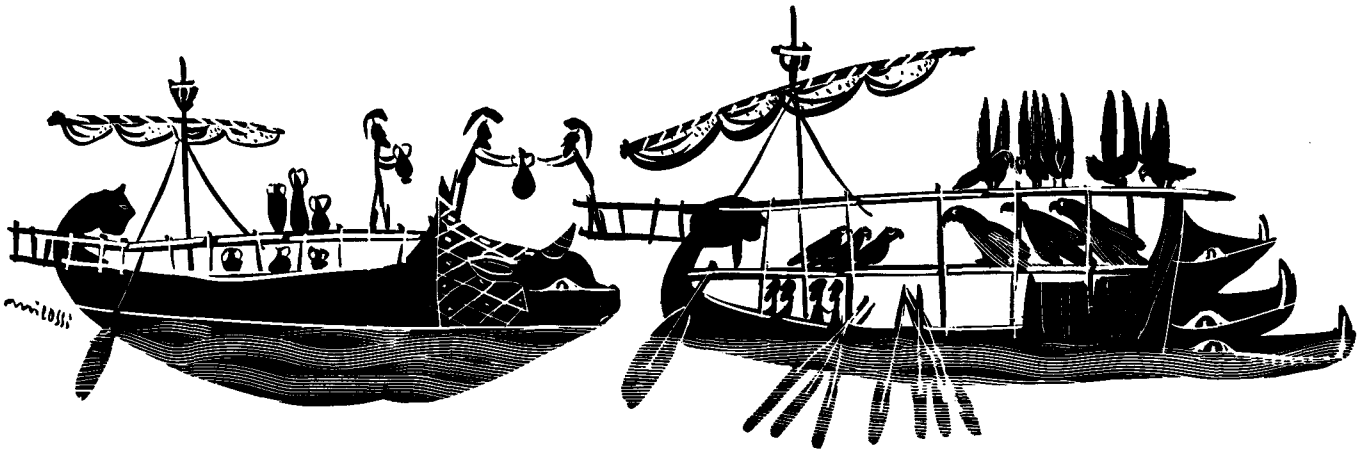

Greece and Turkey: The Second Round

I. Athens: The Natives' Return

GEORGE BAILEY

ATHENS

SHORTLY AFTER the American Declaration of Independence, a motion was introduced in the Continental Congress to adopt Greek as the national language. Many of the Founding Fathers considered Greek to be the most fitting form of expression for the direct successor in spirit to the Athenian Republic. The motion was defeated by one vote. Benjamin Franklin, one of the dissenters, explained that he considered it more practical for the Americans to keep English and let the British learn Greek.

With the subsequent re-emergence of Greece as an independent state, the mutual attraction between the two nations deepened. Over the years, America became the chief receiving country for Greek emigration. There are now over one million Greek-speaking Americans—equivalent to one-eighth of the population of Greece, and there is at present a waiting list of more than eighty-five thousand for immigration to the United States against an annual immigration quota (about to be radically revised upward) of 308. In time, the United States replaced Britain as the chief guarantor of Greek independence and stability, forming a joint command with the Greeks to prosecute the civil war against the Communists and then launching a massive military- and economic-assistance program that has reached a total of about $3.5 billion. Moreover, American private investment makes up an increasingly large share of foreign capital investment in Greece, and Americans account for about half of the Greek tourist trade, which grossed more than $90 million last year.

The ties between the two countries have multiplied and diversified accordingly. Thus, it occasioned no surprise in Athens when, in the midst of the current Greek political crisis, thirteen thousand overseas delegates of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA) descended on the city for their annual convention, the first to be held in Greece. AHEPA's three auxiliaries, the Daughters of Penelope, the Sons of Pericles, and the Maids of Athena, make up 440 of the organization's total of 875 local chapters, one of which is located in Athens. Demonstrators demanding the return of the ousted Premier George Papandreou found themselves outnumbered four to one in the streets of the city by the strolling

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delegates of AHEPA, but Greek authorities who were apprehensive of clashes between demonstrators and delegates need not have worried. The delegates went through their week-long program without incident. They avoided politics until the final session of the convention, when AHEPA issued an uncontroversial appeal demanding self-determination for Cyprus.

"ATHENS," runs the classical proverb, "is not stones but men." Now, as in the past, Greece's most important export (and import) is Greeks. For the last three years, an annual average of 100,000 citizens have left Greece for work abroad. In 1962 and 1963, emigrant remittances and pensions were the largest single entry in the national budget—$117 and $128 million respectively. Most of the improvements in administration, industry, and agriculture are conceded to have been derived from the efforts of two groups of Greeks who returned from French and German universities at the time of the First World War. In the second group was George Papandreou, whose ouster as premier precipitated the current crisis. Now a third group is also playing an important role: a handful of Greeks who had been teaching in the U.S. and who chose to return to Greece in 1963. The most controversial of these men is Papandreou's forty-eight-year-old son Andreas.

Andreas Papandreou left Greece in 1939 to avoid arrest as a member of a leftist student organization working for the overthrow of dictator John Metaxas. He took a Ph.D. in economics at Harvard, served in the U.S. Navy during the Second World War, and became chairman of the Department of Economics at the University of California. In 1959 he received a fellowship sponsored by the Guggenheim and Rockefeller Foundations, at the behest of the Greek government under the Conservative leader Constantine Karamanlis, to set up a Center of Economic Research in Athens. Once the center was established, it was financed by a combined grant from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and annual counterpart funds from the American embassy in Athens. Andreas returned to California in January, 1961, but was back in Greece in the fall of the same year to manage the center. He became involved in Greek politics through his father, who was then leader of the opposition, and returned definitively to Greece (after another trip to California) in 1963 when his father became premier. He campaigned in his father's old constituency and was elected to parliament. Shortly thereafter he was given the cabinet post of alternate minister of co-ordination, a ministry created in 1950 on the recommendation of American authorities in the interest of a more efficient distribution of American aid.

On his return to Greece two years ago, Andreas brought with him two old friends—Adam Pepelassis, another professor of economics from the University of California, and George Koutsoumaris, also an economist. This vanguard was followed by several other Greek-American

Ph.D.s in economics, most of them from Harvard. Andreas resigned from his ministerial post (to be reappointed five months later) in the wake of a patronage scandal involving a city planning contract awarded to another friend, an M.I.T. graduate in architecture.

The Super-Greek

When young Papandreou entered politics, his opponents seized on his American citizenship and his evident reluctance to renounce it, and proclaimed that his oath of allegiance to the United States had included a pledge to bear arms against Greece. There ensued a strange vacillation in his behavior. He informed U.S. embassy officials that a new era in Greek-American relations had dawned with his return to Greece as an American citizen whose father was premier. Later, when his candidacy for parliament automatically voided his citizenship, he failed to renounce it formally, and his passport had to be secured by an official of the American consulate. At the same time, he reacted publicly to the charge of Americanism by becoming the most Greek of the Greeks and more anti-American than the local anti-Americans, a posture that soon drew him to the attention of the extreme Left. He was billed by the Left (always in search of a front runner) as a personal friend of President Kennedy and the hope of Greek youth against the entrenched forces of reaction. Andreas's increasing involvement with the Left dovetailed ominously with his father's radical-liberal policies, particularly his efforts to wrest the nerve centers of power, the Central Intelligence Servvice and the army, from the control of rightists in the government.

During his one-and-a-half-year tenure as premier, George Papandreou engineered the transfer of 2,506 army officers. His first aim was to remove officers considered to be rightist appointees out of the Athens area. The formation—then in progress—of an army contingent for duty on Cyprus provided a convenient excuse. The influx into Cyprus of officers known to be loyal to the Right pleased General George Grivas, who was in charge of the Greek Army's Cyprus operation, but displeased Archbishop Makarios, the president of Cyprus. At the prompting of Andreas, the senior Papandreou then reversed his policy and began sending leftist officers to Cyprus—among them members of the small Aspida organization, whose aim was the severing of Greece's military alliance with the West. This pleased Makarios but displeased Grivas, who subsequently wrote a report exposing the Aspida conspiracy and implicating Andreas.

Meanwhile, Premier Papandreou's broader policies had created a split within his Central Union

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Party. Finance Minister Constantine Mitsotakis, a contemporary of Andreas's, warned the premier that at least twenty per cent of the Union's deputies and their constituencies were conservative and would not follow the party on a radical leftist course. As a matter of arithmetic, he said, the defection of the twenty per cent would deprive Papandreou (whose party had polled fifty-three per cent of the vote) of his parliamentary majority. Andreas had already recognized Mitsotakis, a banker who had stayed in Greece and is generally regarded as the ablest manager in Greek public life, as his counterpart and archrival. Moreover, Andreas cultivated the rivalry for political capital. But to make the fight against Mitsotakis, he was obliged to turn still further to the Left for support. And he drew his father with him.

According to his statement, Andreas persuaded his father not to meet Turkish Premier Inönü for a talk on the Cyprus issue ("It was not the right time") and influenced him to reject the Acheson plan for uniting Cyprus and Greece, while protecting the Turks' interests on the island ("The Greek Cypriots would not have accepted it"). When Andreas was implicated in the Aspida conspiracy, it was his father's efforts to cover for him (culminating in the old man's insistence on taking over the defense ministry himself during the investigation) that caused his ouster and brought on the crisis.

Each of the two opposing sides accuses the other of having deliberately forced the showdown. King Constantine and his advisers were clearly convinced that matters had gone far enough. But if, as they charge, Premier Papandreou senior forced the crisis to forestall the dissolution of his governing party and/or to anticipate a looming financial crisis of his own making, his timing was off. For he did not give the Left sufficient time to make the policy shift necessary to support him. Only two months before his ouster, the outlawed Communist Party (KKE) was busy gathering signatures on a petition for his removal as premier—on the grounds that he had not done enough to restore democracy to Greece, i.e., to rehabilitate the Communists. In fact, the Soviet Union had given up on Papandreou, estimating that his opening to the Left was not keeping pace with events in the Cyprus issue. For Moscow, *Enosis,* the union of Cyprus with Greece, would merely mean the in-

clusion of Cyprus in NATO. The Soviet Union therefore abruptly reversed its anti-Turkish policy and threw its support to Turkey. But this reversal confounded the Greek Communists and effectively excluded the Cyprus issue from the current crisis.

In any case, the disarray within the ranks of the United Democratic Left (EDA) was already considerable, since the party includes pro-Chinese, pro-Soviet (KKE), pro-Titoist, and pro-ultra revisionist factions. When the king—and not the Communists—brought the old man down, the Communists and the fuzzy Left were forced to swing around to support him. Their efforts were not convincing. Despite the propaganda value of the death of a student in the engineered riot of July 21, they were simply unable to muster sufficient numbers of demonstrators, and the general strike they called was hardly more than twenty per cent effective. As the demonstrations proceeded under the various labels (students, trade unionists, athletes, and intellectuals), the same few hundred tired worthies appeared time after time.

Andreas's Opposite Number

Though they numbered only twenty-six, the Center Union deputies who defected to form a token government under the president of parliament, George Athanassiades-Novas, gave proof that erosion had indeed taken place within the party. Moreover, it was the quality and not the quantity of the defection that counted. It was Andreas's rival, Mitsotakis, who took Andreas's post at the ministry of coordination, explaining that he was unwilling to relinquish the government "to the forces of anonymity." Mitsotakis took command of the opposition within the party and quietly proceeded to undermine the former premier's parliamentary support. "I think I know what the mood of the Greek people is on this issue," he said to me. "If I am right, then Papandreou is finished."

Mitsotakis has reason to believe that he is right: he has sent his men throughout Greece to canvass Center Union members in all counties. Instead of rallying to Papandreou after the Novas government failed to win a vote of confidence in early August, the majority of the rank-and-file Center Unionists apparently turned against him hardly a week later when the old man in effect threatened the king with a Popular Front "from below," i.e., with the Communists, if he was not reinstated or elections were not called. Papandreou denied the next day that he had made the threat, but the damage was done.

The incident epitomized Papandreou's tactic of playing off the Left against the king and so making an issue of the monarchy itself. Faced with the choice of extremes, the majority in the Center Union constituencies gritted their teeth and sided with the king. Mitsotakis then used his findings to persuade key deputies of the Center Union to follow the Novas group in defecting from Papandreou. On August 16, Stephanos Stephanopoulos, the former deputy premier who had refused the king's appointment to form a new government the week before, and Elias Tsirimokos, Papandreou's minister of the interior, declared themselves independent of the party and in favor of forming a government to end the crisis. They were followed by an indeterminate number of other deputies. On August 18, the king appointed Tsirimokos to form a new government, but his prospects of success were considered slim.

The selection of Tsirimokos, a former Socialist who was connected with the Communist-dominated National Liberation Front (EAM) during the Second World War, was a clear indication that the move was designed to appeal to the left

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wing of the Center Union, at the risk of losing votes from the Conservative Party (ERE). If the attempt failed, it was certain that Mitsotakis would continue his work of undermining Papandreou's parliamentary support in order either to accept the king's mandate himself at a later date or to lay the foundations for a coalition under the leadership of some nonpartisan personality of national standing. To counter this attack, Papandreou father and son directed their appeals more and more openly to the streets. The ousted premier stumped twenty-two "centers of influence" outside Athens over the weekend of August 21 in a whirlwind speaking tour; Andreas threatened to take the issue directly to the people, while making it clear to all who would listen that he meant to lead Greece out of NATO and into neutrality. These exhortations gave the Left a new lease on life. By the end of the third week of August, demonstrators were again provoking clashes with the police.

On August 19, for the first time in the crisis, the cry of "Out with the Americans" went up. On the following night it increased. Part of the mob concentrated on the American library on Stadiou Street and a brick was thrown through one of the library's windows; by the end of the week the movement had taken on an open anti-American character, and the Left had let loose the dogs of class war. At ten o'clock in the evening of August 20, the hard core of the action squads of the Left, supported by some three thousand youngsters turned hoodlums, charged a police cordon on Stadiou Street, tore up thirty yards of pavement, erected makeshift barricades, burned three police vehicles, built bonfires in the streets, tore up railing posts, and smashed shop windows throughout much of the downtown area. Clearly, the purpose behind the rioting was to force the new government to declare martial law.

Throughout the present crisis, George Papandreou's most significant support has come from thirty-five-year-old Christopher Lambrakis, the owner and publisher of two of Greece's largest newspapers whose circulation makes up about a fourth of the daily press circulation in a country where television is nonexistent and radio negligible. Lambrakis, whose father was one of the staunchest supporters of the founder of the Greek Republic, Eleutherios Venizelos, is himself an ardent antimonarchist and sworn to the support of Papandreou come what may. The shrill, inflammatory tone of Lambrakis's two dailies, the morning *Tribune* and the afternoon *News,* has done more than anything else to whip their combined readership of 450,000 into a fury. The rightist newspapers, with comparatively weak circulations, are incapable of providing a means of communication with "the masses."

Too Much Politics

The group of eight Greek-American economists who followed Andreas Papandreou back to Greece became affiliated as a matter of course with their leader's party, the Central Union. But the group was quickly split by the struggles within the Union, some of them siding with

Mitsotakis against the Papandreous. The political controversy in which they were deeply involved prevented them from applying their technical skills and actually slowed down Greek economic progress while plunging the country into its first major political crisis since the civil war. In the end the quickly gained power of the returning natives released forces that thwarted the policy directions of both the Center Union and the united Left, each attempting to attract and assimilate the other, because it accelerated the process to the point where it could no longer be effectively controlled.

Ironically, the group's deeds and misdeeds redounded to the advantage of the Conservatives, who were responsible for their return to Greece. Under the Karamanlis government, national income increased by seventy per cent from 1955 to 1962, or an average of ten per cent per annum. Since the group's return, the annual increase has been about five per cent. Similarly, the exodus of Greek workers, which was made a campaign issue against the Conservatives, climbed from just over 100,000 in 1963 to well over 105,000 in 1964; and the total exodus for this year threatens to be still greater. It is clear now that Papandreou's electoral success was due in large part to his willingness to make long-term economic sacrifices for short-term political gains. He raised grain prices by seventy per cent, thereby swinging the farm vote—over half of the electorate—and causing a further increase in the country's chronic wheat surplus. The grain-price subsidy, which drained the financial reserve, falls due again this month, a fact adduced in support of charges that Papandreou forced the crisis in order to escape the approaching financial dilemma. Finally, a splurge in the import of capital and consumer goods, particularly automobiles (vehicle registration in Athens jumped seventy per cent in 1964), has left the country with its worst balance-of-payments deficit in more than a decade.

In comparison, the Karamanlis government's performance looks even better than it was. The Conservatives are given credit—rightly—for achieving spectacular gains in improving the infrastructure of the economy, as in road construction, electrification, and other long-range development projects; the upshot is that what is good in the economy is attributed to the Karamanlis government, while what is bad is traced to Papandreou's failure to improve on the situation that Karamanlis left.

"WE FAILED," one of the group of American-trained economists told me, "because we were preempted by Greek politics. Our prestige was too great and our expectations too high. We were offered and accepted highly paid posts of political patronage when we could have done a lot more good elsewhere—in technical positions for which we were trained. We came back with the

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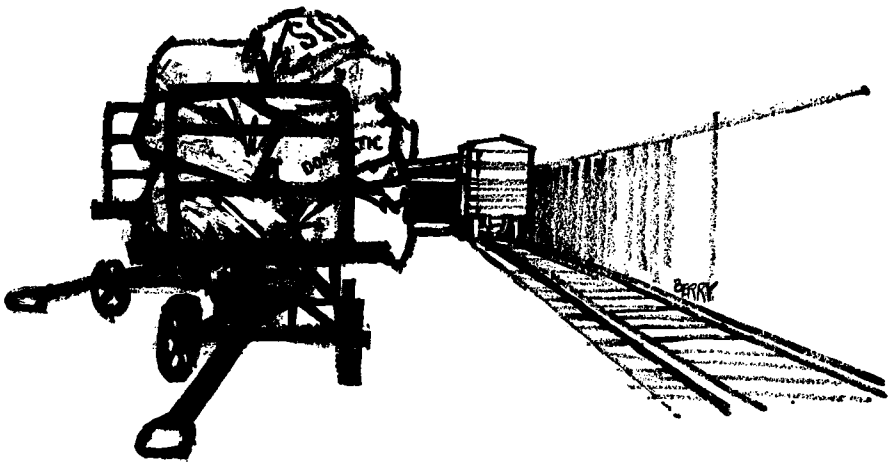
idea of helping Greece the way the group from the European universities did after the First World War. But we didn't realize that our situation was really very different. The men of that generation were Greeks who remained Greeks. They studied at German and French universities as penniless students who were not allowed to work in their host countries. They couldn't and didn't want to put down any roots abroad. And then they came right back to Greece. We stayed away too long. Andy for over twenty years, Adam [Pepelassis, director of the Agricultural Bank of Greece] for sixteen years, and George [Koutsoumaris, director of the Center of Economic Research] also for sixteen years. We made careers in America and we became Americans. Damn it, on the campus I felt completely American. When we came back we reverted to being Greeks. But that's not the same thing as having been Greek all along. Then, too, most of us had a feeling of guilt for having been away during the Second World War or the civil war or both—safe in America while our friends and relatives were being killed. So we tried to make up for it. Once we were back we tried to move too fast and we were completely caught up in Greek politics, which are pretty dirty: this is a little rural country where everybody knows everything about everybody. "It was an extremely difficult situation, and I wouldn't single out anybody for blame. Andy himself is not even a leftist, let alone a Communist. His books are full of typical conservative American economic theory. But he got into a situation where the only way open to him was to the Left. His move to the Left was to his advantage—in the short run. If he hadn't moved to the Left, he would have been politically dead months ago. But we were all confused psychologically. Some of us, instead of saying 'I'm proud I was an American and to hell with you if you don't like it,' tried to prove that we were just as good Greeks as the rest of them. It just made matters worse. I came back here for a visit. I returned because I could not forget the Greek sea. Now I cannot forget the home I had by another sea."

The attraction has proved too great—both ways.



II. Ankara: Inönü Looks Left

CLAIRE STERLING

ANKARA

IN SPITE OF having received more than $4 billion in aid since 1947, the Turks have continued all this while to be our warmest allies. Contrary to the rule that nobody can be fond of his benefactor—"I have never helped you; why do you hate me?" the oriental saying goes—they have liked and admired us, welcomed our troops, appreciated our advice, endorsed every controversial action of ours from Korea to Cuba and Vietnam, and not once in eighteen years broken a USIS library window.

All that has changed now. Because of our policy or lack of one in Cyprus, we have gotten onto more or less the same footing in Turkey as in dozens of other countries. The Turks take our money and tolerate our presence. But their politicians have turned cool and their press hostile ("God damn them all," a well-known columnist writes of our diplomats), and the first scrawls have appeared on the capital's walls suggesting that we go home.

There is no question of our having lost an ally. The Turks have never forgotten the lesson drilled into them by the venerated Mustafa Kemal Atatürk forty years ago, that they must be part of the West or face oblivion. But the father of modern Turkey was much too proud to have given any western power the kind of undiscriminating support we have had from his disciples since the Second World War. What we have lost is that extra quality of unconditional loyalty, from one of the few nations still disposed to offer it. "From here on," an Istanbul editor told me unregretfully, "we are going to examine international matters on the basis of our interests instead of yours. We have stopped being your satellite, and high time, too."

In fact, it does seem high time. When President Truman undertook to guarantee Turkey's security in 1947, there was acute danger of a Soviet invasion. Determined to dominate Russia's gateway to the Mediterranean, as the czars had been for centuries before him, Stalin was making peremptory demands for control of the Dardanelles and three Turkish Black Sea provinces. The Turks had fought thirteen wars in two centuries with the Russians over this issue and would have done so again if they had to. All the same, they were relieved and grateful when the Truman Doctrine frightened Stalin off sufficiently to make that unnecessary.

IF IT WAS one thing to side unreservedly with the United States under those circumstances, it has long since become another. Stalin's demands on Turkey were hastily withdrawn after his death; Khrushchev and his successors have been openly eager for a reconciliation; and the idea that perfect loyalty is due us in exchange for our

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protection has been reduced to ridicule by any number of smaller states on three continents. In clinging to this old-fashioned principle, the Turks have been living in unnatural isolation, outcasts among their fellow Moslems in the Middle East, suspect in most of the Third World, and a chronic provocation to the Russians, with whom they share a long frontier. Yet they would probably still feel honor bound to go on as they had done if we had not broken our part of the bargain in Cyprus.

In a way, the State Department can hardly be blamed for underestimating the depth of Turkish feeling about Cyprus; practically everybody else has, too. Few outsiders can understand why this vexatious Mediterranean island with only half a million inhabitants (100,000 Turkish, 400,000 Greek) should stir up such reckless passions among the stolid Turks or even among the emotional Greeks, for that matter. Yet the Turks, who do not want Cyprus themselves, would go to any lengths to keep Greece from having it, while the Greeks, who do want it, would do no less to get it. Both countries have been prepared to wage war over it since December, 1963, when the Greek and Turkish Cypriots went for each other's throats and the whole flimsy structure of independence collapsed. Neither government has been open to rational argument on the subject, and even if they were, the president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, would not be. Every attempt at mediation has therefore failed, and with each failure American prestige in Turkey has lurched further downward.

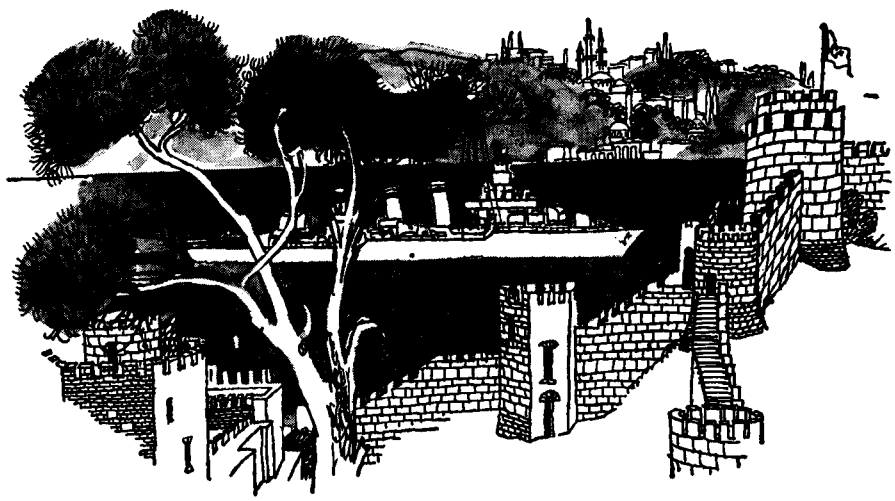
That might not have happened if the United States, lacking the will or ability to impose a settlement on both of these NATO allies—not to mention the archbishop—had managed at any rate to preserve a reasonable balance of strength between them. But where we have not prevented Greece from landing fifty thousand NATO-equipped troops on Cyprus, we have on three occasions summarily forbidden Turkey to make a military landing. Our argument, put bluntly to Premier Ismet Inönü by Lyndon Johnson, was that if Turkish forces should invade Cyprus, we would leave them to the mercy of the Russians, who were already delivering guns, tanks, and missiles to Makarios and had promised him, in the event of a Turkish landing, to come in on the Greek Cypriot side. "In effect," an aide of Inönü's explained to me, "you were serving notice that your protection would be withdrawn against our historic enemy, who, with the archbishop's assistance, might at any moment establish a beachhead on an island forty miles off our Anatolian coast. As far as we were concerned, that released us from our bond."

Since coming to this conclusion, Turkey has given us only one more taste of the impeccable allegiance we have been accustomed to. When the U.S. Navy made the first retaliatory air strike against North Vietnam in August, 1964, Inönü promptly acclaimed our action—and sent the same number of identical bombers to break up a Greek attack on besieged Turkish Cypriots at Kokkina. The mission accomplished, he recalled his bombers and embarked on a new course in foreign policy.

The Good Northern Neighbor

In almost any other country, the gingerly advances Turkey has made toward Russia so far would hardly rate more than a couple of news paragraphs. Between last November, when Inönü sent his foreign minister to Moscow, and May, when Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko came to Ankara, the stiff-necked Turks formally agreed to nothing more than a series of cultural exchanges, excluding an exchange of students and including only such events as a performance by a Russian circus in Istanbul. Even this skimpy agreement has yet to be ratified by the Turkish parliament. On the other hand, the Russians have been anything but stiff-necked. Delighted by the first barely perceptible nod they have had from Turkey in two decades, they have had no compunctions about dumping Archbishop Makarios—who must look pretty unimportant to them by comparison—and reversing their position on Cyprus. The Russians had never sent arms to Makarios, Gromyko asserted in Ankara, blandly blaming President Nasser of the United Arab Republic for that sin, and in any case would stop sending them. Furthermore, not only must *Enosis* (union with Greece) be ruled out for Cyprus but likewise self-determination, a device loudly demanded by Makarios (and hitherto by the Russians) that would give the Greek Cypriot majority a free hand. Henceforth, said Gromyko, the Russians would insist that the "two communities" on Cyprus must have recognized status, "possibly . . . under a system of federation," the solution dearest to Turkish hearts.

This smart Soviet about-face has quickly tipped the diplomatic balance in Turkey's favor. With Gromyko's statement tucked into their briefcases, Turkish delegations have been traveling through Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America to sell their position on Cyprus. They have had a friendly reception nearly everywhere. Even Nasser, with whom Turkey has just re-



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established diplomatic relations, has begun to wonder publicly whether his old friend Archbishop Makarios is a reliable practitioner of nonalignment after all. Where the Turks were certain to be defeated on Cyprus in the United Nations General Assembly only a year ago, they are now fairly confident of success.

If this estimate proves correct, the Turks will clearly have the Russians to thank. Saddening as they may find the prospect, they are beginning to see it as confirmation of another Atatürk principle half forgotten since the black days of Stalin. Although the bogey of imperial Russia had been used for centuries by scolding Turkish mothers to frighten naughty children, Atatürk had brusquely dismissed these fears. The Brest-Litovsk Treaty and Lenin's renunciation of all territorial claims on Turkey had seemed to him to offer a promising opportunity for good relations with his mighty northern neighbor. Indeed, he was so carried away by the idea that he not only signed a friendship treaty with Lenin but ordered the formation of a Turkish Communist Party. (When this inspired the formation of another and more authentic Communist Party, however, all fourteen members of its central committee were "accidentally" drowned off Trebizond.) It was only in 1947, nine years after Atatürk's death, that Stalin's brutally renewed demands on Turkey put an end—forever, it seemed then—to Atatürk's friendship treaty and slogan of "Peace at Home and Peace Abroad."

Rediscovered now, the slogan is naturally seen here in a different context. Except for a negligible Communist minority, few Turks have come around to thinking of Russia as a benevolent neighbor, or would care to test the Russians' true intentions by facing them without the fortifying presence of NATO in the background. At this stage, Turkey still regards its commitments to NATO as invaluable and irrevocable; and though it has declined to participate in our proposed multilateral nuclear force, to the Soviets' great pleasure, its reasons are technical and unrelated to diplomatic strategy. For the moment, the Turks are contemplating nothing more than a very gradual thaw in their long-frozen relations with Moscow. How long this cautious view will prevail will depend largely on domestic politics.

It is forty-five years since Atatürk started to drive his people up the steep slope toward a modern representative government. His own attempts to impose a multiparty system merely puzzled the illiterate peasantry without making the smallest dent on the comfortably embedded bureaucrats of the defunct Ottoman Empire. Twelve more years of effort by his designated heir, Ismet Inönü, ended in electoral defeat for the ruling Republicans in 1950 and a new autocratic order under the Democrats' Adnan Menderes, who managed over the next decade to undo very nearly everything accomplished in the previous three.

EVEN AFTER the army turned Menderes out in 1960 and later had him executed, the voters found themselves barely halfway up the slope. The Turkish Army is unique in the Moslem world for its earnest attachment to democracy. But it has been unwilling to risk any fresh political escapades, and has held the voters discreetly in rein. Until last February, it would trust only dependable old Inönü to be premier. Despite his party's having polled less than thirty-seven per cent of the vote in the 1963 election (as against forty-six per cent for the Justice Party, the direct descendant of Menderes's outlawed Democratic Party), Inönü stayed on as head of a coalition government. He resigned in February when parliament rejected his budget; since then a caretaker four-party coalition headed by Suat Hayri Urgüplü, an independent, has been in office. Not until the election in October will the voters be turned loose—fairly loose, at any rate—to pick whatever democratic government they please.

Their decision should have no immediate effect on foreign policy. There are only shades of difference in attitude toward Russia (and the United States) among the various parties, and only the small far-left Turkish Labor Party really finds fault with the new line started by Inönü, generally regarded here as a master of diplomacy. The Justice Party's criticism of what a spokesman calls "the Old Man's new love for leftism" is entirely on domestic grounds. For the eighty-one-year-old Inönü is in fact moving leftward in home affairs, with the sure instinct of an experienced hunter on the scent of game.

Up to now, Turkey's elections have invariably been held in the midst of dramatic institutional crises wholly submerging everyday concerns. This time, a good many pent-up frustrations should be coming out when the October voters are free at last to think about their economic interests. On the surface, they ought not to have overwhelming worries. Not many Turks are exceedingly rich and very few are excessively poor. There are ample deposits of minerals in this country, and enough oil to cover the need for at least the next few years. Industry has been developing at a good pace for a long while and, since the first Five-Year Plan got under way in 1963, the growth rate has averaged six per cent annually. Per capita income is $220 yearly, a respectable figure around the Mediterranean. Jobs are available, if not well paid; and nowhere does one come across a hungry, still less a starving, peasant except in a few mountainous eastern provinces. It is just because they are not actually desperate, however, that the voters are becoming increasingly exigent—and so are we.

IT HAS BEEN costing the western powers, above all the United States $500 million yearly to underwrite the relative well-being of Turkey's thirty million citizens. The money is no longer squandered as it was by Menderes, who went happily along building dams, roads, and factories in the unclouded conviction that the bills would be footed by the American, British, German, French, and Italian taxpayers. But while the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is well satisfied with the development plans going forward here, it has made plain to Turkish leaders that they cannot bank on such lavish assistance indefinitely. Sooner or later, the country will have to fall back on its own resources; and when the day comes, the electorate will

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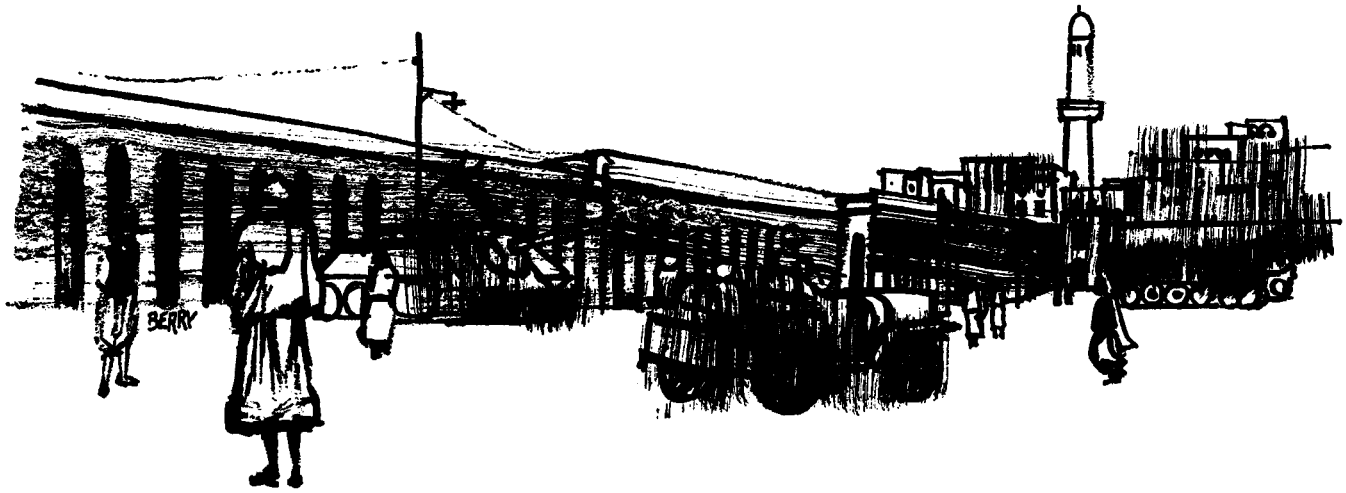

certainly expect to enjoy the western living standards promised them since Atatürk first wrenched them out of their ancient Islamic ways.

The fact that they are already impatient explains Inönü's astute electoral strategy. While doctrinal political leftism is a novelty here, it has been spreading like an oil slick among students and intellectuals, and especially among the steadily growing membership of the Turkish trade unions. Socialism is what these restless voters say they want, and what Inönü says he is going to give them. He can claim that this is in the best tradition of his Republican Party; and nothing could be more convenient nowadays than to emphasize this particular tradition rather than the party's less attractive reliance on the Turkish Army to stay in power on and off for thirty-four years.

The label Atatürk gave to the Republicans' curious form of socialism was *étatism*, a method of state intervention designed not to redistribute wealth but simply to create it. Confronted by moneyed but indolent pashas and the absence of a middle class with any industrial experience, he decided that Turkey would not move forward unless the state planned every economic move and invested in practically every field so as to prod private interests into doing the same. Over the years, the principle has hardened into much less flexible practice. About forty-five per cent of industry is in the public sector now, and the government's heavy hand on the private sector tends to be more stultifying than stimulating. Still, Inönü can point to several recent achievements that the average citizen cares more about.

Old Parties . . .

For his advanced age, Turkey's Grand Old Man has been astonishingly spry during his latest term of office. Between 1961 and February, 1965, he got the country off to a creditable start in its first Five-Year Plan; restored value to what had become under Menderes a worthless currency; passed twelve tax bills to increase savings and state revenues; socialized medicine; extended public services to rural areas (schools, roads, water supply); lowered the cost of fertilizer and raised crop prices, in some instances by one hundred per cent; and pushed through an unprecedented set of labor laws, guaranteeing the right to strike, collective bargaining, and a share in profits for workers in the state-run industries.

The Republicans are not resting on this electoral record, however. They have been talking during the campaign of more restrictions on private industry, a major redistribution of land, agrarian co-operatives, and nationalization of the oil industry, which would be a nasty jolt for foreign oil companies (mostly American) whose $150-million search here is just starting to pay off. As the rival Justice Party tells it, such punitive *étatism* would finish off private capitalism and foreign investment for good, meanwhile making for a "calculated permissive drift leftward" which the Communist-line Labor Party could put to the darkest uses.

As for the Justice Party, its own defense of free enterprise is so unyielding that there was a question until recently of its willingness to endorse even the Five-Year Plan. Here again, party leaders prefer to gloss over their less attractive record —the appalling economic mess Menderes left behind—and underline their deep admiration for American capitalism. It is a good talking point, though it might have been better before the United States fell out of grace over Cyprus. Despite the handicap of a fire-eating extreme right wing, the party's able new leader, Suleyman Demirel, has been using it to excellent purpose in his appeals to the long-suffering middle class here.

This, together with four million peasant votes picked up in the back-to-Islam Menderes era, has helped to pull the Justice Party abreast and perhaps ahead of Inönü's Republicans. A lingering affection for the party that gave Turkey its only purely civilian administration, however disreputable, has helped as well; and so has the army's apparent conclusion (when it tolerated Inönü's fall in February) that the inheritors of Menderes's mantle are not necessarily a menace to Turkey's democratic institutions any more.

. . . and Young Extremists

On the face of it, an electoral victory for either party ought not to carry the sober, level-headed Turks far off a safe political course. Yet there are emotional undercur-

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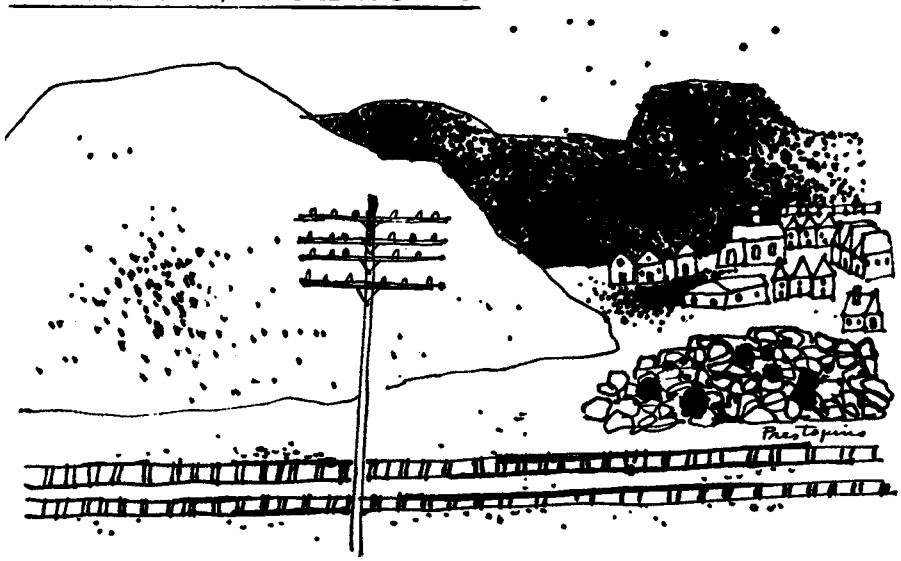
rents here that make one wonder. Nobody seriously believes, for instance, that a man of Inönü's irreproachable principles would deliberately encourage the kind of irresponsible left-wing radicalism reflected in the nightly student street fights that have recently broken out along Ankara's busy Kisalay. But Inönü is past eighty, and there isn't a Republican—or any Turkish politician—of comparable stature to replace him. Younger and less scrupulous politicians might find it tempting to sprint after these violent new radicals and their poison-pen accomplices in the press, not to catch them but simply to keep up with them.

Then there is the other kind of radical, the fanatical nationalist variety personified by Colonel Alpaslan Türkes. The "dreadful mentality" of this "jingoistic and Nazi" young officer, as a member of his own National Party describes him, has already led to his expulsion from the army junta that overthrew Menderes for his more recent part in an abortive military uprising to restore the army to power. Since then, his tirades against all foreigners, the Communists, and the "blood-sucking American capitalists" have attracted a growing audience, captivated in particular by his predilection for "national" (if not actually Aryan) socialism.

For the moment, these two extremist formations are only half defined on the outer fringes of Turkish politics. But their appearance is disturbing in a country normally as equable as this one. "You visit us briefly and find us more or less as you have always imagined we were," a university professor in Ankara told me, "a careful, decent, rather overearnest and slow-moving people who have really learned to love democracy, perhaps because it has taken us so long to get it. But if any government here should misuse its power again, if our free institutions should be abused or neglected, if we should prove incapable of governing ourselves as we have dreamed so long of doing, then democracy will be disgraced. Improbable as you might find it, what we Turkish intellectuals dread most is that our country might become another Weimar Republic."



The Proliferating Appalachias

DON OBERDORFER

LAST September 25, as the billion-dollar Appalachia aid program moved toward passage in the U.S. Senate, A. Willis Robertson of Virginia rose with a warning for his colleagues. "This will set a precedent that we will have to live with for countless decades to come," he declared. "After Appalachia comes the Ozarks. After the Ozarks comes the Mesabi Range area and that whole section of the North Central part of the country. And after this will be another region, and then another . . . . every part of the country will want to have a piece of the pie."

The Senate ignored the objection and passed the bill, but Robertson's prophecy was soon confirmed. On the Capitol subway that very afternoon, Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine complained, "All this is fine for Appalachia, but I've got problem areas of my own and the bill doesn't help them a bit."

"What the hell," replied his companion, Chief Clerk Ron M. Linton of the Public Works Committee, "why don't you work up an Appalachia program for New England?"

Less than a year later, Washington is about to create a series of other Appalachias, each with a budget of its own that is expected to grow swiftly from the millions toward the billions. For better or worse, the New Regionalism already has begun to superimpose its claim upon the allocation of public resources in this country.

The most advanced creations are those foreseen last fall. They are the kingdoms of Ozarka (mountainous parts of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri), Conemico (the Mesabi area of upper Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan), and New England. Recently they have been joined by two others, the principalities of Great Plains (the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana) and Four Corners (Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah). Several more are just beginning to quicken.

The Region Legion

The legislative authority for these regional plans is S.1648, commonly known as the Economic Development Act (EDA). Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, one of its co-sponsors, has called it "a very far-reaching bill and perhaps one of the most significant pieces of proposed legislation to come before Congress

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tnus far," and those who have studied it carefully are inclined to agree. This group, however, is not large, for the measure has attracted little attention in Congress or the press. It passed the Senate on June 1 by the lopsided vote of 71-12, and was approved by the House on August 12, 246-138. It was signed by the President two weeks later. In the tidal wave of Great Society legislation, it is one of many programs that have been all but lost from view.

This is surprising, for EDA is the successor to several highly controversial efforts to deal with the problem of economically depressed areas in the United States. Among other things, it continues in renewed force (but under a new name) the functions of the Area Redevelopment Administration, which is considered a failure by many officials in Washington and which Congress refused to extend in 1963. To this has been added a sharpened concept of regional economic planning, formerly a subject of much debate. Under EDA, planners are empowered to select for favored Federal treatment those cities under 250,000 population in or near depressed areas which, in their opinion, possess the greatest potential for growth. No doubt the very fact of their selection will help such cities bloom while others wilt around them.

FURTHERMORE, EDA authorizes annual expenditures of $660 million —the equivalent of the combined yearly budgets of the U.S. Information Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the National Cancer Institute, the Peace Corps, and the entire Federal judiciary. This amount is a first installment; the new regions will initially receive only $15 million, which they will use to organize themselves into study groups to formulate their own major programs of Federal grants and loans. According to one of the principal masterminds on Capitol Hill, within five years the total effort can be expected to reach an annual budget of $3 billion, which approaches the size of the current foreign-aid program.

Of all the features of EDA, Title V, which authorizes the other Appalachias, has the most interesting history and the mightiest potential. Though hailed as the enabling clause for a golden era of regional planning, this new direction was itself the unplanned product of coincidence and circumstance. It is a classic study of government by improvisation.

The story begins with the idea of Appalachian regional development, which was conceived in the 1950's by some of the governors concerned and given great impetus in the spring of 1960, when West Virginia emerged by accident as the decisive Presidential primary battleground for the Democratic Party. In early 1963, several White House aides began to search for ways to fulfill John F. Kennedy's political and moral commitments to the impoverished people who had helped him achieve victory.

In the face of initial reluctance by the depressed-area administrators of the Department of Commerce, Presidential aides Lee White, Myer Feldman, and Theodore Sorensen argued that the Appalachia region should be given special recognition because of its severe problems and in sufficient time to obtain results prior to the 1964 election. Early in April, 1963, President Kennedy met with the Appalachian governors and announced the creation of a Federal-state commission to investigate the needs of the region.

At this stage, there was little or no discussion of the extension of this precedent to other regions. Within a short time, however, legislators from the depressed upper Great Lakes area, particularly those from the 1960 Democratic-primary state of Wisconsin, urged upon the White House an equal claim for Federal attention. The result was a Presidential visit in late September, 1963, to the Northern Great Lakes Land and People Conference in Duluth, Minnesota, and a Presidential letter to interested senators on November 13 announcing immediate steps toward the establishment of a Great Lakes commission similar to that for Appalachia.

The assassination of President Kennedy nine days later temporarily halted both of these regional studies. After a respectable interval, the new administration was asked whether the Great Lakes project should continue. The answer was "No." Furthermore, the White House found it convenient to put off, time and again, formal acceptance of the Appalachian study report, which called for more than a billion dollars in Federal spending.

There is debate about what happened next, but according to one version, President Johnson was buttonholed about the matter at a social event by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., then Under Secretary of Commerce and chairman of the Appalachia study. Roosevelt reportedly pointed out that the Appalachia program justified a personal trip by the President to poverty areas in Southern and border states. Whatever the cause, the commission report was accepted on April 9 and two weeks later the President embarked on a highly successful series of inspection visits. Within a few days, the legislative program was sent to Congress.

Help Wanted

As the months passed, it became clear that the Appalachia bill was liable to fail on Capitol Hill without some assurances to other needy areas. The Bureau of the Budget, on the other hand, foresaw the creation of new and competing regional pressure groups in Congress, each backed by state governors and other powerful political forces at home. Charles L. Schultze, then assistant director for economic affairs and now director of the Bureau of the Budget, was particularly unhappy.

The inevitable showdown was postponed last fall when the House failed to consider the Appalachia bill before adjournment. By early 1965, when Appalachia's legislative trek began anew, pressure had mounted in the Senate. On January 27, the Budget Bureau dispatched a vaguely worded letter to Senator Muskie promising to propose "meas-

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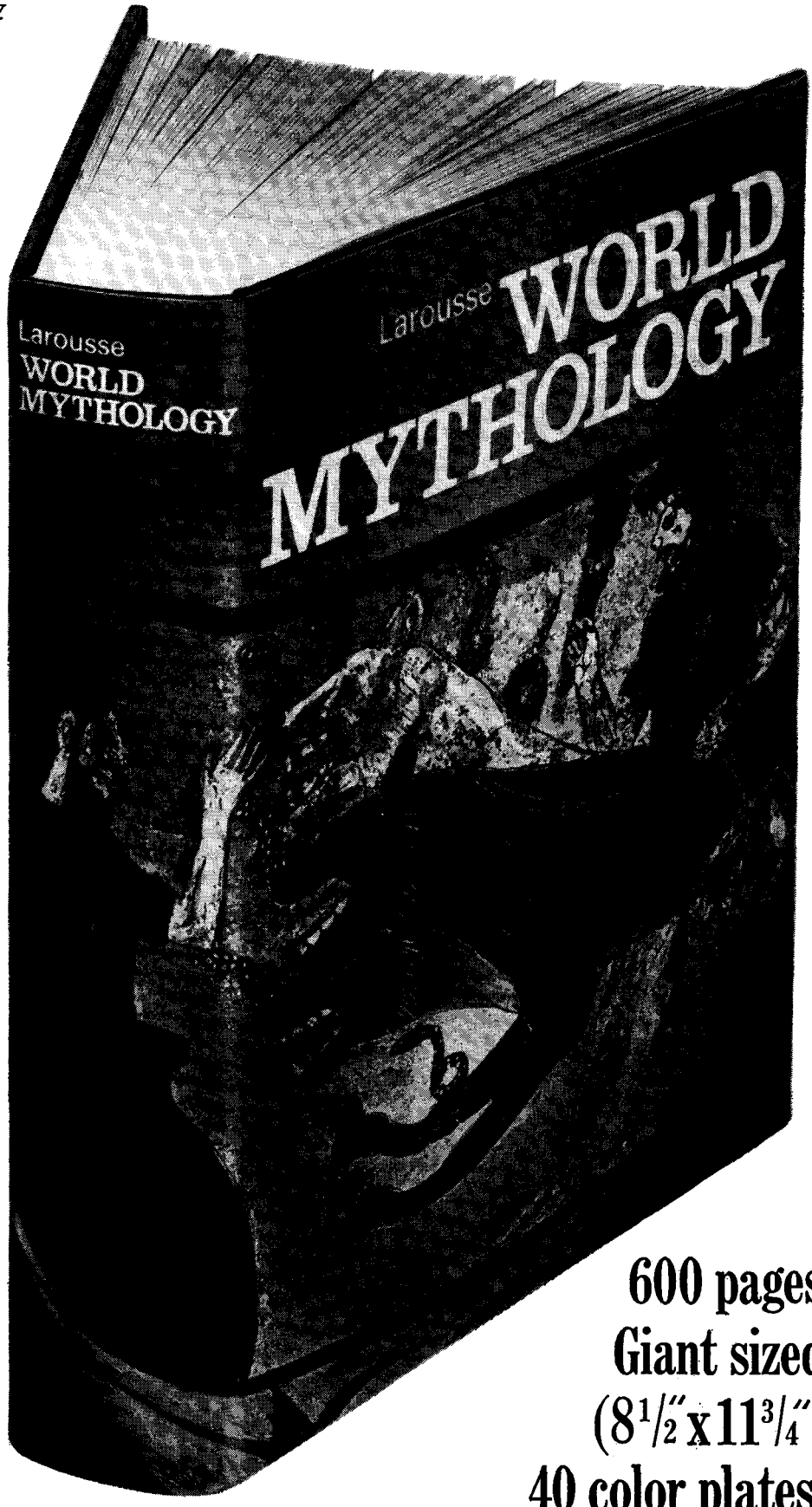

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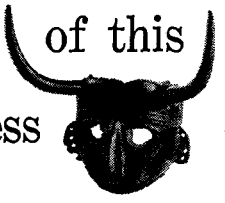

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ures to encourage and assist regional planning" as part of the extension of the Area Redevelopment program. This assurance failed to satisfy Senator Gaylord A. Nelson of Wisconsin, a leading advocate of an upper Great Lakes commission. The following day he convened a meeting of thirteen senators and senatorial aides from New England, the Ozarks, and the West, who agreed to fight for equal status with Appalachia. This endangered the Appalachia bill.

Despite counterpressure, Nelson refused to budge. At this juncture Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield hastily visited President Johnson and emerged with a White House promise to "emphasize economic planning on a regional basis" in forthcoming legislation. A few weeks later, the administration fulfilled that promise with Title V of its Economic Development Act, specifically authorizing "regional action planning commissions"—and thus ensuring a broad base of support in Congress. As ultimately passed, Title V of EDA authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to create economic-development regions with the concurrence of the states involved where the area "has lagged behind the whole nation in economic development." Each region is entitled to a Federal-state commission, with a Federal co-chairman appointed by the President. Washington pays all the bills for two years, while the regional commission compiles its recommendations for a new program of economic development.

The Importunate Supplicants

The study period is unlikely to be so long, since many of the moving spirits in Congress are eager to begin the Federal action stage. This is notably true of Senators Pat McNamara of Michigan, the Caliph of Conemico, and Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, the Wizard of Ozarka. Both are up for re-election next year. Even before EDA was signed into law, senators and governors in both those areas had formally requested the Secretary of Commerce to designate them as economic-development regions. The application from New England is not far behind.

In testimony before the Senate Public Works Committee in April and May, five other "Appalachias" were proposed:

OZARKA. In the impoverished Ozark Mountain region of eastern Oklahoma, western Arkansas, and southern Missouri, economic conditions are worse than in Appalachia, according to most indices. Some of this area will benefit from the current $1.2-billion Arkansas River navigation project, a legacy of the late Senator Robert Kerr of Oklahoma. But roads in Ozarka are poor, tourist attractions undeveloped and unpublicized, and industries depressed. In addition, people and cattle are bothered by eighteen kinds of ticks and chiggers, which Senator Harris proposes to combat with a research program.

CONEMICO. This is the upper Great Lakes area of northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, where the iron ranges have been depleted to build automobiles in Detroit and timber has been removed to build the homes of the Midwest. "Conemico" was coined from "Copper country," "Northeastern Minnesota," and "Indianhead country," according to the director of the Upper Peninsula Committee for Area Progress. The unemployment rate here is twenty per cent higher than Appalachia's. The region needs

roads, public works, new recreational developments, and a concerted attack on the parasitic lamprey which has badly hurt the fishing industry in Lake Superior.

NEW ENGLAND. America's oldest industrial region is growing in prosperity more slowly than the nation as a whole. According to Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts, "Much private housing, schools, and municipal buildings are of ancient vintage. . . . Our major railroads are in or near bankruptcy and need complete rehabilitation. . . . Our only major airline is fighting for its life in the courts. . . . Water collection and distribution systems are inadequate . . . . [and] New England is the highest cost electric power area in the nation." On the other hand, average income is much higher than in Appalachia, and parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts are among the most prosperous anywhere.

GREAT PLAINS. This vast region of the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana averages only six people per square mile. The area is virtually cityless, with no city reaching 100,000. Increasingly the plains are being drained of people, who are migrating to growing urban areas elsewhere. This is the area of the Bad Lands, the Black Hills, Mount Rushmore, and other attractions. Senators from the area want to develop mineral resources, health facilities, and a Federal highway to link the many parks.

FOUR CORNERS. Parts of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah have been called "Appalachia with a Spanish accent." This is predominantly public land, state and Federal, with some wide-open spaces but also some prosperous and growing cities such as Denver, Phoenix, and Salt Lake City. Its senators want more water, more roads, the exploitation of coal and shale-oil deposits, public works, and development of recreational facilities.

THE economic-development regions proposed thus far include portions of twenty states which, together with the eleven states of the original Appalachia, account for more than half the votes in the U.S. Senate. Moreover, Appalachia recently has added some mountainous New York counties, while Senator Harris of Oklahoma foresees the day when Ozarka will annex portions of Louisiana, Texas, Kansas, and perhaps Illinois.

In addition, Northwestern senators are discussing a possible region of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, while Senator Joseph Tydings of Maryland has suggested Delmarva, composed of coastal portions of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia (the latter two states enjoying dual citizenship, since their mountainous stretches are in Appalachia). Hawaii

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and Alaska, with nobody next door, are eligible to be "regions" in themselves.

Should all these events happen, only eight "old maids" would be left among the states—New Jersey, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Nevada, California, and, ironically, Mississippi, which is at the bottom of the national heap by almost any standard. Already lawmakers from some of these neglected states have begun to seek partners in this new form of economic matrimony, in which two can live more bountifully than one.

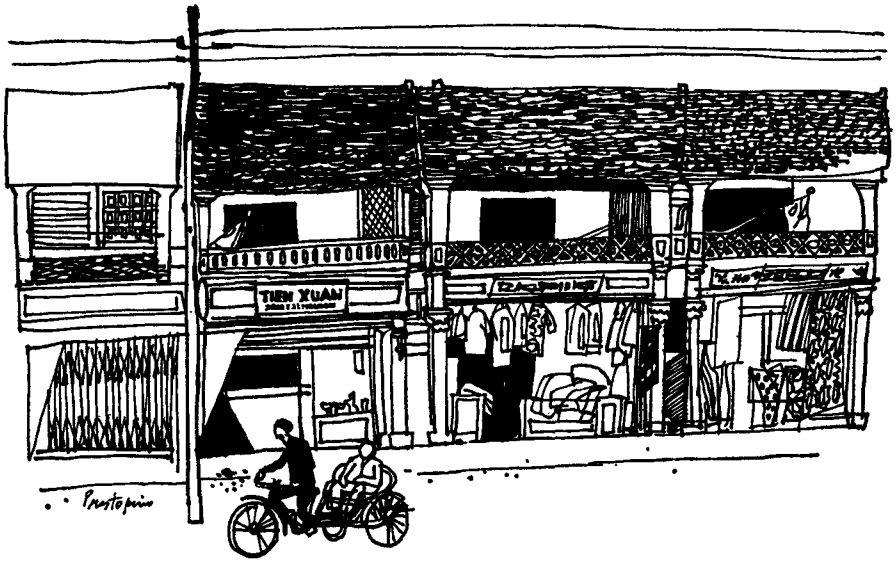
All this adds up to a formidable constellation of political forces that some senators believe can combine each year in an omnibus Regional Development bill, much like the traditional omnibus Rivers and Harbors bill. Indeed, this parallel prompted Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin to warn against the "pork-barrel approach . . . . without regard to the national need or the national ability to pay . . . ." Proxmire delivered his warning several months before becoming a cosponsor of Conemico.

The dangers of regional development will be far outweighed by the benefits if the plans should prove successful in reviving depressed areas. Regional programs have worked well in Europe, but economists point out that economic planning is more deeply rooted and effective there.

Here at home, the Tennessee Valley Authority is an outstanding success, but it is doubtful that many of the new regions can be organized around power generation. When some planners proposed coal-burning power plants at Appalachian mine mouths, private utility interests arranged to insert a provision in the Appalachia bill effectively barring any aid to public power. Similar language, plus a redundant extra clause for good measure, has been inserted in EDA.

Other precedents for regional planning in the United States include the many river-basin authorities created by the Rivers and Harbors bills—but these are organized around a single resource and rarely oriented to broad economic development. The Appalachia aid program itself is hardly a reliable guide. Frankly experimental, it is far too new to have produced meaningful results. Several years will be necessary to determine whether it is "the truest example of creative federalism in our time" (the phrase of President Johnson) or "a grim hope" and "a bill of shoddy goods" (the view of the Appalachian writer Harry M. Caudill).

In our democratic system it is not surprising that many neglected areas should volunteer as additional recipients of regional development, on the theory that one billion-dollar test deserves another—and another and another. What is surprising is that so far these potentially costly proposals have been approved with so little resistance and national attention. Some economists fear that these programs might become only a new device for securing an extra slice of routine Federal benefits—something that Congress could have accomplished without adding new politico-economic entities to a nation that already possesses a total of 91,235 cities, counties, states, and governmental authorities.



The Second Fall Of Singapore

DENIS WARNER

SINGAPORE

IN THE bitter aftermath of secession, Lee Kuan Yew, prime minister of the new sovereign state of Singapore, angrily blamed what he called "the six Mad Mullahs of Malaya" for the island city's exclusion from the Federation of Malaysia. "Tengku Abdul Rahman," Lee said, referring to the Malaysian prime minister, "is like a man with a pack of ferocious dogs. In the past the Tengku used to take the dogs for a walk. Now the dogs take the Tengku."

Lee's analogy, apt enough as far as it goes, is incomplete. Behind the breakup of what promised to be a viable multiracial Malaysia is Lee's own role in goading the dogs and upsetting their master.

Lee is brilliant, hard-working, and incorruptible, but in striving for a Malaysian Malaysia, his western-acquired logic failed to comprehend the Malay mentality and feudal Islamic outlook he had to deal with in Kuala Lumpur. By taking the political threat of his multiracial but predominantly Chinese People's Action Party across the causeway into

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Malaya and pounding away against Malay privileges in the federation, he excited the "ultras"—the half dozen extremists among the leadership of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO)—who in turn whipped up all the old Malay fears that the Chinese were planning to steal their birthright.

There is a good deal of evidence to support the charge that Dato Syed Jaafar Albar, until recently the secretary-general of UMNO, helped to instigate the race riots in Singapore last year. Before the split finally occurred, he was campaigning for the arrest of Lee and the deportation of other People's Action Party leaders in Singapore and for suspension of the constitution. But Lee, it is equally true, provided him with much of his ammunition. The Malaysias that Lee and Albar envisaged were totally incompatible.

A Bill of Divorcement

To most travelers in Malaya, the communal harmony of the villages, with Chinese, Malays, and Indians going about their usually prosperous affairs, often seems one of the strengths of Malayan society. But the Malay is emotional and easily aroused, especially when his religion or his way of life appears to be assailed. Bloodshed was possible, or so Abdul Rahman thought as, afflicted with the shingles, he lay four days in a London hospital bed. "I looked out of the window and saw storm clouds gathering over Malaysia," he said later. On June 29 he drew up a balance sheet, writing out in English the pros and cons of a Malaysia without Singapore. The document was immensely revealing. Just as Lee had misunderstood the Malay mind, Rahman revealed such narrowness of thought that in retrospect it seems that Malaysia never had a chance. His attitude was not that Malaysia represented the creation of an entirely new sovereign state wherein many diverse peoples might find equal opportunities, but simply that Singapore and the Bornean states of Sabah and Sarawak had been wedded to a Federation of Malaya wherein Malaya enjoyed special rights and privileges. When a Malay decides that his wife is incompatible, he divorces her. It was in just such terms that the Tengku thought when he decided to divorce Singapore.

As he saw the issue, this involved nothing more, so far as Singapore and Malaya were concerned, than a return to the status quo. He consulted few of his own ministers. Until the secession was all but an accomplished fact, he did not even inform Sabah or Sarawak. For Singapore, the alternative to signing the secession agreement was the warning that "the situation might get out of control."

Since all but three members of the Singapore cabinet are Malayan-born, there was understandable reluctance to accept the requirement to become foreigners in their own land. S. Rajaratnam, minister of culture and now foreign minister, and Dr. Toh Chin Chye, deputy prime minister, both Malayan-born, were especially reluctant. "When I learned the 'or else' was my deportation and Lee's arrest, I realized there was nothing else we could do," Rajaratnam told me.

Just before midnight on August 8, Singapore signed the agreement. By that time, the shocked Sabah delegate, who had been informed only at the last moment, had leaked the word to Lord Head, the British high commissioner. Lord Head tried repeatedly to get in touch with the Tengku while he comunicated urgently with Whitehall. Early next morning, Head reached the Tengku and pleaded with him to postpone his decision "at least by one day." He handed the Tengku a message from Prime Minister Harold Wilson expressing his grave disappointment. The Tengku replied that nothing could change his decision; the decree was absolute.

EVER SINCE, the Tengku gives the appearance of a man who has been relieved of an unbearable burden. It would be difficult to exaggerate his euphoria or his utter confidence that not only what he has done is right but that all is working out very well. "I haven't missed a game of golf any morning," he told me just before flying off to Sabah and Sarawak to attempt to control a situation that is rapidly becoming much more serious than he appears to know or is prepared to admit. "I feel no concern now. The reaction was about nil. It really was very mild indeed. If I had waited to discuss secession with the British, Australians, and other interested countries, it would have created ill will, but pushing it through as I did produced no ill will at all."

There is nothing to justify this complacency. Unfortunately for what remains of Malaysia, for Singapore, and ultimately for the security of Southeast Asia, the Singapore secession was not just simply a Malay divorce. "Malaysia without Singapore is like a body without stomach," said an angry Sarawak politician, using what may well prove a tragically apt simile. If the Tengku's action has relieved the communal problem, it is extremely doubtful whether this relief will be more than temporary. All the problems that made it desirable to include Singapore in a wider Federation of Malaysia remain, and are seriously aggravated now that the island is fully independent. Whether the Tengku can control his extremists is doubtful. The Malays, once the most amiable people in Southeast Asia, have become xenophobic and anti-British. In the context of the mounting struggle for control of Southeast Asia, Singapore's expulsion from Malaysia in 1965 may yet prove as significant as its fall to the Japanese in 1942.

Malaysia, built around the main port and industrial center of Singapore, was a calculated gamble to create a zone of stability by an orderly act of decolonization.

Malaysia without Singapore and Singapore without Malaysia could still prove viable. If the separation were to be only political and if its effect were to shock the political leaders into the kind of collaboration that Malaysia failed to achieve, there would be a foundation for real hope. But this would require the kind of appreciation of common problems, trust, and willingness to compromise that was not apparent in the past and is even less likely now.

The Price of Secession

Under the Malaysian agreement, Singapore contributed forty per cent of its internally collected federal revenue to the Malaysian exchequer. In round figures, this meant that Kuala Lumpur showed a profit of

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$60 million each year because of its Singapore link—an arrangement that was to be renegotiated in Malaysia's favor. In addition, Singapore had promised a loan of $50 million over a five-year period for development in backward Sarawak and Sabah.

With defense costs rising rapidly, loss of this revenue means that Malaya will have less to spend on its own important internal development and that neither Sabah nor Sarawak, if they remain in the Malaysian Federation, can hope to make the progress that being part of Malaysia once seemed to promise. As many people in Borneo see it, there is not much icing left on the Malaysian cake. It took two years to sell the concept of Malaysia in Sarawak and Sabah. Without Singapore, which has close trading relations with both, it is improbable that either would have agreed to join.

In Kuala Lumpur, those who approved Singapore's secession now advocate the creation of new ports to bypass Singapore and a rapid industrialization of Malaya, presumably at Singapore's expense. This is as inflammatory as it is unrealistic. Economists reckoned that between forty to sixty per cent of Malaysia's purchasing power was in Singapore. Singapore is the marketplace, and without free access to it, no substantial Malayan industry can hope to survive.

In the absence of any firm agreement on principles or plans for a common market or economic union between the two countries, Singapore immediately slapped restrictions on manufactured imports from Malaysia that had hitherto been applied only to third countries. This threw Malayan factories into immediate disarray. Many have cut production far below the profit level. The manager of one of the largest industrial concerns told me that he had cut his advertising immediately by more than $60,000.

An agreement in principle has now been reached on trade; but unless and until Malaysia and Singapore agree on a common market or economic union, industry is liable to stagnate in Malaya. The outlook for Singapore without a common market is even worse. In an effort to force common-market concessions in Kuala Lumpur, it is using the threat of resumption of trade with Indonesia. But the Tengku is specific that he would regard such trade as a hostile act.

With a quaint regard for the niceties of international law, the Tengku believes that he has the right to use his Malaysian military base in Singapore, retained under the recent secession agreement, to keep Singapore under control. "The Indonesians have vowed to destroy us, so how can we have a neighbor who is going to give money to the Indonesians in order to destroy us?" he asked me during a long interview. A moment or two later he said, "Any threat to our security [in Singapore] would give us the right to act." Before the creation of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, through its membership in

the Singapore joint security council, had a valid right to intervene in Singapore's internal affairs. Whatever the Tengku believes, that right is no longer his.

This is no way to create a climate wherein conciliation may become possible. Yet if Singapore remains cut off from the market potentialities of Malaysia, it is difficult to see how Lee and the People's Action Party can succeed in holding their political lead over the Communist-front Barisan Socialist Party.

With its population increasing at the rate of more than 60,000 a year and with 750,000 of its 1.8 million predominantly Chinese people under the age of twenty, Singapore must find an outlet for its energies and skills. It has no natural resources. Even its water, as Kuala Lumpur has ominously pointed out, comes across the causeway from Malaya. Since its labor costs are relatively high and it is an industrial Johnny-come-lately compared with Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, its prospects in a competitive international market are not good without the Malaysian market base and its eleven million customers.

It was precisely the fear that Singapore's economic and political isolation might lead to mass unemployment and to a Communist take-over that motivated the creation of Malaysia two years ago. That fear is still valid. Even with a prosperous Singapore and matched against the good government that the People's Action Party provided, the Barisan Socialist Party got a third of the votes at the last election. Lee simply could not hold his mass support if there were also mass unemployment.

Assuming that Sabah does not leave Malaysia in the immediate future, a possibility that British officials assess as a fifty-fifty chance, the results of the shock treatment of secession will be revealed by the extent to which Malaysia and Singapore can work out an economic modus vivendi. Everything else—the racial problems, the political animosities, the very real Communist threat, and the bitterness that the Tengku's unilateral action created in Sabah and Sarawak—is subordinate to this. Rahman is locked in bitter conflict with Dato Donald Stephens, who is to Sabah what the Tengku is to Malaya or Lee Kuan Yew is to Singapore. Stephens, the former chief minister of Sabah, quit as federal Minister for Sabah Affairs and Internal Defence twelve days after the Singapore secession. His party, which represents 150,000 part Christian and part pagan Kadazans (by far the largest racial group in Sabah), is reviewing the Malaysian agreement amid clamor for secession by the rank and file. The crisis was subdued by diplomatic pressure from Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, which points up the difficulty of defense if Malaysia splits further. The situation has since deteriorated because of federal threats to arrest Stephens. Thus within two weeks of Singapore's secession, Kuala Lumpur had another Singapore-type problem on its hands.

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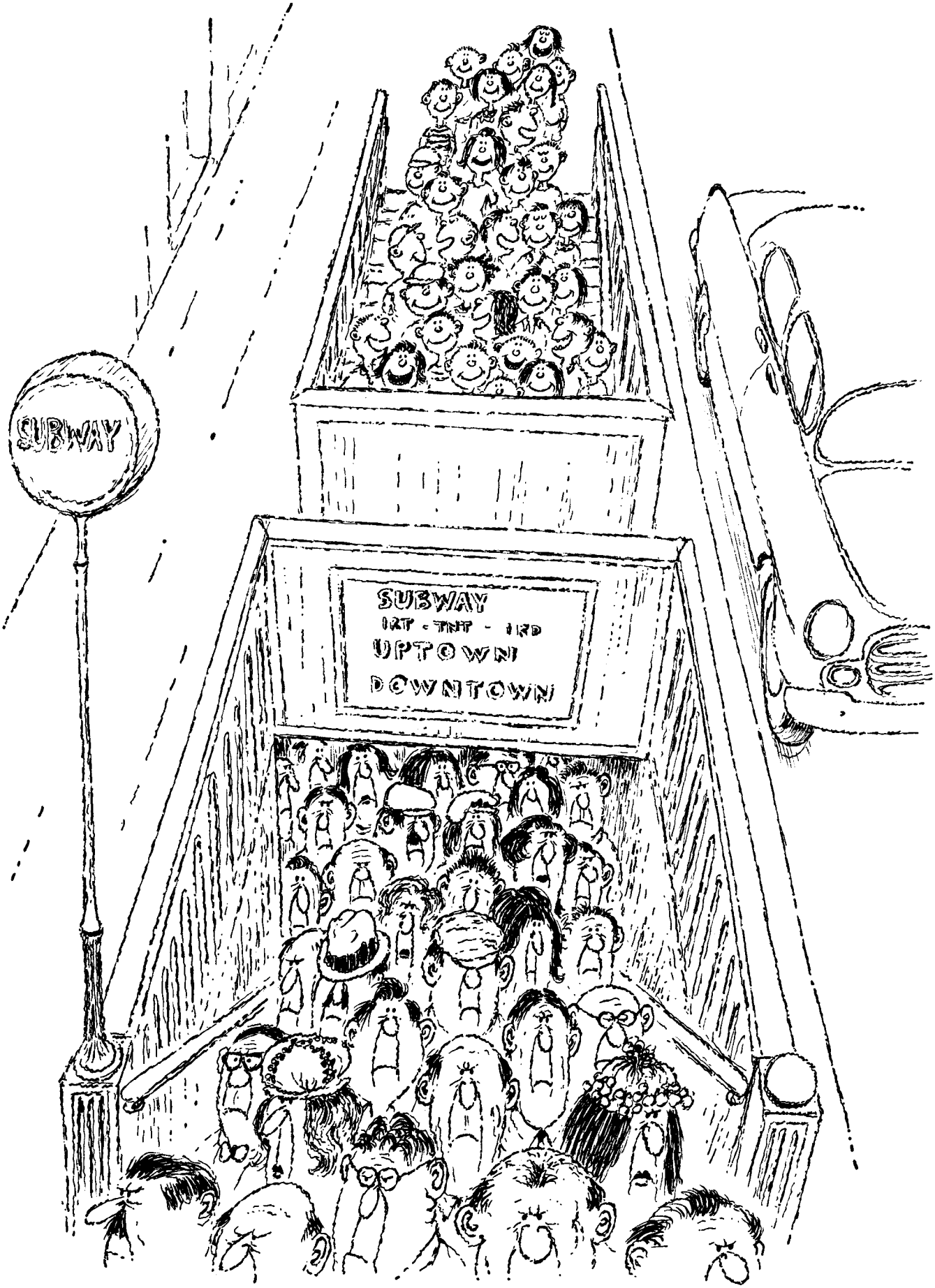

By Fernando Krahn

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Behind Los Angeles: Jobless Negroes & the Boom

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

In the past few weeks two events have occurred that are of massive significance for the American people. The tragic, agonizing upheaval in Los Angeles, coming almost within hours of the signing of the Voting Rights bill, could not possibly have been a more bitter demonstration of the fact that the Negro American has still not found a rightful place in our society.

The second event was overshadowed in the news by the Los Angeles story, but it was fully as important as the riots and intimately connected with them. In the July employment statistics, we have begun to get the first evidence that one of the most extraordinary and significant social experiments in American history, namely the effort to solve the problem of unemployment by over-all economic growth, has been successful.

When President Kennedy took office in January, 1961, more Americans were out of work than at any time since the great depression of the 1930's. He immediately set out to restore the American economy to a high and sustained level of economic growth. Even as this effort began, a controversy broke out among economists and social scientists as to whether a massive increase in economic activity would in fact solve the most serious aspects of unemployment. The so-called aggregative economists, who argued that "all boats rise on an incoming tide," said it would. They were opposed by the so-called structuralists, who argued that a significant portion of present unemployment is accounted for by the disabilities of the workers themselves rather than by the shortcomings of the economy. These men maintained—and as Assistant Secretary of Labor I was one of them—that disadvantages arising from lack of skills, persistent unemployment, racial prejudice, and other cultural patterns would result in a great many persons being left out of even the most frantic prosperity.

The July employment statistics bore out the predictions of the economists who asserted that a combination of fiscal and monetary policies—of which the 1964 tax cut was only the most prominent—would bring about a massive improvement in the economy, and that such an improvement would sharply increase employment.

July produced the largest employment gains in peacetime history. Almost seventy-five million persons were at work, the largest number ever. Over the past twelve months we have added 2.4 million jobs to the economy. In one month, from June to July of this year, the number of unemployed dropped almost 700,000. The over-all unemployment rate for married men dropped to 2.3 per cent, practically a full-employment rate. At the same time, the unemployment rate for white workers actually dropped below the interim goal of four per cent that Presidents Kennedy and Johnson had set.

No one can doubt that we are going through the most spectacular peacetime economic expansion in history. Yet economic growth has not solved the employment problem for those groups for whom the structuralists had the most concern.

In July, amid this unexampled prosperity, the unemployment rate of adult Negro men went up sharply, from 5.7 per cent to 6.5 per cent. The unemployment rate for Negro women rose from 7.8 per cent to 8.8 per cent. At 9.1 per cent, the over-all unemployment rate for nonwhites is once again double that for the work force as a whole. Clearly, the two-to-one ratio is now frozen into the economy.

It is precisely those adult Negro males—the men who are trying to care for their families, play a part in their community, and provide an example for youth—who are getting worse off. While the total number of unemployed persons dropped by 700,000 in July, the number of unemployed Negro males twenty years of age and over rose from 256,000 to 288,000.

The application of this worsening situation to Los Angeles could not be more direct. In 1964 the Area Redevelopment Administration conducted a survey of unemployment among Negro workers in the Watts area. Asked why they thought they were unable to get jobs, only ten per cent of the males cited discrimination. Over half—fifty-three per cent—felt it was because of their lack of skill or the lack of jobs. These are not matters which can be changed by civil-rights acts, and they knew it. Surely it is possible by now for responsible persons in private life to recognize that in the midst of unexampled prosperity we are in fact presiding over a catastrophe.

There are three points to be concluded from the July employment statistics.

¶ The United States does not have one employment problem but two. Massive general prosperity can conceal utter calamity in the Negro world. Even the nonwhite statistics understate the real case, since they include many persons of Asian ancestry whose unemployment rate is half that of the work force as a whole. The true Negro rate would be even higher than we now record.

¶ If Negro unemployment can rise in the face of an unprecedented overall improvement, we must conclude that the training and education needs of Negro workers are even greater than we have thought. Plain old-fashioned discrimination could not account for the events of the last few months.

¶ The cities of the nation must begin insisting on national programs directed specifically to this issue. I do not believe there is a single serious social problem facing them of which unemployment is not one of the root causes. It is precisely because everyone else is so prosperous that urban leaders must insist on more attention being paid to those whose situation is just the opposite and for that very reason all the more bitter.

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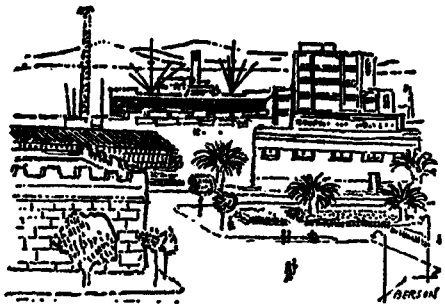

Romania's New National Communism

PHILIPPE BEN

BUCHAREST

THRUSTING out of a vast wheat field near Galatz, where the lower reaches of the Danube cross the Moldavian Plain, is a red skeleton of steel that symbolizes a radical new phase in the economic and political development of European Communism. The girders are the framework of a steel factory that, Romania's leaders hope, will play an important part in their ambitious plans to transform Romania by 1970 from a rich but backward agricultural land to one of the more industrialized countries of Eastern Europe. This plan is at the heart of the quarrel between Bucharest and Moscow, a disagreement that has seen the emergence of Romania as a kind of "third force" in the Communist camp, neutral in the Moscow-Peking feud but often more sympathetic with China.

The economic and political significance of the Galatz plant was underscored at the Romanian Communist Party congress here in July when Nicolae Ceausescu, the new party secretary, told an audience of world Communism's leaders that "Industrialization is the only road to progress and civilization, to rising living standards; it ensures national independence and sovereignty." In the front-row seats reserved for guests of honor, Soviet First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev listened attentively as Ceausescu quoted a turn-of-the-century Romanian historian to the effect that "To remain restricted to agriculture means dooming ourselves to the production of raw materials; it means being forever in bondage to foreign countries." The Romanian delegates who greeted the quotation with cheers were applauding the party leadership's repudiation of the Soviet principle of a "socialist division of labor" among the countries of Eastern Europe, a division that assigned to Romania the production of agricultural commodities and petroleum, leaving industry to the East Germans, Czechs, Poles, and, above all, to the Russians. Brezhnev, who politely applauded too, could not fail to note the bitterness in Ceausescu's tone, for the dispute between Bucharest and Moscow has been heated.

Doctoring History

But the importance of the gathering that took place here in the hot closing days of July goes far beyond the reaffirmation of Romanian determination to become an industrial power, whether the Soviet Union likes it or not. It was above all an occasion for detailed definition of the brand of nationalist Communism that has slowly taken shape in Romania in recent years. Essentially, it proclaims that Romania owes neither obedience nor gratitude to any other Communist country or group—a position that involves a good deal of rewriting history. In particular, it denies any Romanian debt to the Soviet Union.

In Ceausescu's report to the congress, one heard no reference to the Bolshevik Revolution or any credit given to Lenin and his successors for the growth of Communism. According to the Romanian Communist chief, his party took its inspiration directly from Marx and Engels. He quoted an 1888 letter from Engels praising the Romanian Socialists for their enthusiasm and sizable membership. As for 1944, what was important in Romania's liberation, according to Ceausescu, was not the victories of the Red Army over the Germans but an "uprising of united workers" that put an end to the local "military-fascist dictatorship."

To make this doctored version of history official, the congress recommended a new constitution for Romania, eliminating a long preamble in the old one that praised the "historic role" of the October Revolution and even more warmly lauded the Red Army as the country's liberator. Western observers here (who for the first time were permitted to attend a party congress in a Communist country) agreed that this stress on Romanian values and achievements and the reaction against the postwar hegemony of Moscow was more than chauvinism. It was a new doctrine, and was treated as such by the delegates from other Communist countries.

After a succession of Romanian officials had echoed the principles of "Romanianism" and insisted on the "absolute equality" of nations and the right of each Communist Party to conduct its own policy, the Polish, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Bulgarian speakers, whose governments have reason to fear the spread of nationalist Communism, did not hide their skepticism and even outright hostility to the Romanian line. Paradoxically, it was Edvard Kardelj of Yugoslavia who took the lead in reminding the Romanians how much they owed to the Soviets—a move that tells a lot about the present political and economic plight of the Tito régime.

In contrast, the Chinese Communists and their supporters, the delegates from North Korea, Albania, and Indonesia, seized the opportunity to embarrass the Soviets by showering extravagant praise on Romania for its achievements and the truth of its new doctrine, in partic-

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ular the aspects that obviously were the most objectionable to Moscow. They did not, however, deem it incongruous to condemn the concept of peaceful coexistence among countries with differing systems or the "modern revisionists" of Marxism, while praising the Romanian doctrine—which fits both descriptions. Thus Romanian nationalist Communism provides a third faction in the feud that has already divided the Communist world, and the Chinese are encouraging it in order to weaken further Soviet control over the Communist countries of Europe.

In the economic sphere, the Romanian push for independence is based less on national pride than on shrewd calculation. This country of nineteen million, with its immense mineral wealth, rich soil, huge forests, and temperate climate, is one of the blessed lands of the earth in natural resources, though far less than blessed in the record of its leadership. The new nationalism, in fact, is something of a novelty, for, in the words of a saying that Stalin repeated to Churchill twenty years ago, "Romania is not a nationality but a profession." The Romanians were canny enough to realize that the Soviet economic blueprint for the satellites in COMECON, restricting Romania to a predominantly agricultural role, would slow the country's drive for a higher standard of living. Rejection of this role began under Party Secretary Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, and when he died in March the selection of the forty-seven-year-old Ceausescu to succeed him assured continuance of a policy that has made the Romanian leadership more popular than it has ever been since it came to power twenty years ago.

In addition to the steel complex rising at Galatz, another factory site dramatically illustrates the changes in the country's alignment. Below Galatz the Danube divides into three branches, each flowing separately to the Black Sea. This is the delta, a hunter's paradise of fish, birds, and animals hidden among thousands of acres of green reeds that often stand ten feet tall. Besides providing nesting grounds for ducks and swans, these reeds are an excellent source of cellulose, useful in the textile, dyestuffs, and alcohol industries. In the 1950's, machinery from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany supplied the construction of a huge cellulose plant at Braila, upriver from Galatz, which was to supply those industrial countries with raw materials for decades to come. Gheorghiu-Dej, however, paid for the machinery with cellulose and then told the Poles, Czechs, and East Germans to look elsewhere for their supplies. "From now on, we shall need all the Braila cellulose for ourselves," he said.

Moscow seems reconciled to the change in Romanian policy. The Galatz steel mill, expected to boost annual national production from three million to seven million tons by 1970, will be fed by deliveries of Soviet iron ore from Krivoi Rog under a long-term agreement. Soviet machinery also is being ordered for Galatz, along with French, British, West German, and Austrian equipment. But as Romania's industry grows at a pace outstripping other satellite nations, trade with the West is on the upswing and the still important commerce (forty per cent of the total) with the Soviet Union is declining.

Rebuff in Washington

United States participation in this opening to the West has not materialized. A top-level trade delegation to Washington last year, led by the head of the State Planning Commission, Gaston Marin, failed to produce concrete results. Marin has since been downgraded in the party hierarchy. The withdrawal under U.S. right-wing pressure of a Firestone Tire & Rubber Company offer to construct a synthetic rubber factory and a petroleum cracking plant earlier this year is cited by Romanian officials as evidence of "American unreliability." Nor has Romania been granted most-favored-nation status in trade with the United States. Marin's failure and his subsequent fall from favor are regarded here as a setback for Washington's policy of bridgebuilding to the East.

The rebuff to Romania's hopes for trade with the United States may also have political repercussions. Romania had been making noticeable efforts to go easy on U.S. sensibilities. There have been no demonstrations at the U.S. embassy here in connection with the war in Vietnam or the Santo Domingo intervention. Relations with Havana have been cool since the departure early this year of 250 Cuban students recalled by Castro when he suspected Bucharest of flirting with Washington. Cuba was not represented by a special delegation at the recent congress but only by its ambassador. Perhaps to allay such suspicions and to rebuke Washington, Romanian criticisms of American foreign policy were especially sharp at the congress.

It would be a mistake to believe that the Romanian leaders intend to build their society on other than Communist principles. They are modern and realistic Marxists, but Marxists just the same. Nor is there any reason to believe that a break with Moscow or the Soviet bloc is in the offing. The rumored Romanian dispute with Soviet Marshal Andrei A. Grechko, supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact forces, has been patched by Ceausescu, although Romania has reduced the size of its army and the length of military service from twenty-four to sixteen months.

The Romanian leadership is young, tough, and realistic, unwilling to give anybody something for nothing. It was for this reason that it embarked on the quarrel with the Soviet Union, which it has won. Romanian Communists are—relatively speaking—now masters in their own house, and any hope in the West of gaining a foothold in Romania by kind words, a few exchange visits, and scholarships is vain. Unlike the Yugoslavs, the Romanians do not want aid. And unlike other People's Democracies that have become converts to the capitalist idea of "buy now, pay later," the Romanians never buy on credit without being sure that they will be able to meet their payments on time. Yet despite these characteristics, or perhaps because of them, Romania's decision to develop its rich natural resources by dealing with all comers, without regard to politics makes it a land of opportunity for the West.

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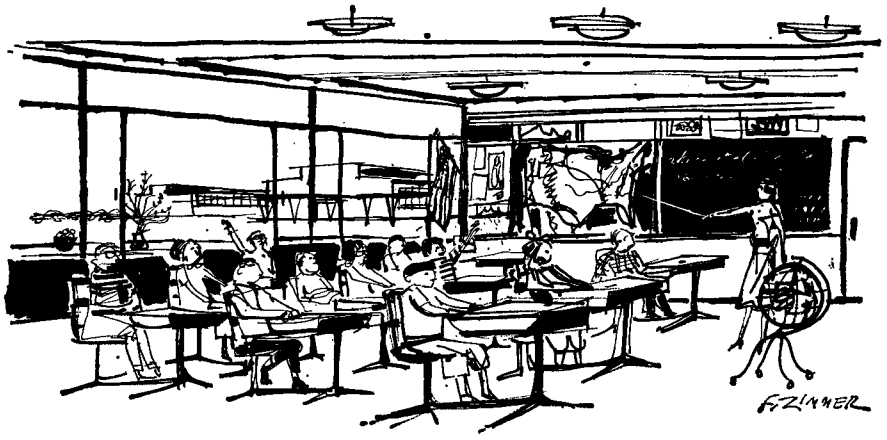

The Teachers Give Oklahoma a Lesson

BARBARA CARTER

OKLAHOMA CITY

FERMAN PHILLIPS, executive director of the Oklahoma Education Association, looked worried. "It's so new," he said, with a low whistle, almost to himself. He was speaking of "sanctions," the latest weapon developed by the National Education Association as an alternative to teachers' strikes. The NEA is the mammoth professional organization of nearly a million teachers, principals, and school superintendents, and Phillips's organization, the OEA, is its state affiliate. On May 11, at the OEA's request, the NEA had declared sanctions against Oklahoma.

The term "sanctions," as used by the NEA in its guidelines for local and state affiliates, is kept purposely vague. It can mean anything from public censure to the withdrawal of teachers' services. "The most severe type of sanctions," the NEA's guidelines warn, "should be invoked only as a last resort." For as an NEA *Defense Bulletin* is careful to point out, sanctions are "sometimes dangerous."

The use of sanctions was approved at the NEA's 1962 convention, and since then they have been invoked by state and local affiliates from Waterbury, Connecticut, to Little Lake, California, more than a dozen times, with varying degrees of success and sternness. Only once before, however, had the NEA declared sanctions against an entire state. That was in May, 1964, when it publicly censured Utah for failing to raise its educational standards (and teachers' salaries). The NEA then declared it "unethical conduct" for any teacher outside the state to seek a contract there, threatened to expel members who did, and informed teaching institutions and accrediting agencies of its actions. The sanctions were not lifted until this March, after Utah had added nearly $25 million to its biennial education budget.

THE NEA was first called into Oklahoma last November, after four OEA-sponsored petitions to provide more money for education had failed to pass in the general election. The OEA asked its parent organization to make an investigation of school problems, and a month later the NEA declared Oklahoma's educational system to be "subminimal . . . in almost every area." Salaries, of course, were part of the trouble—the average teacher's salary in Oklahoma is more than $1,000 below the national average of $6,325—but only part of it. There had been no statewide general tax increase in Oklahoma since 1937, and its school system, struggling against rising postwar enrollments and increased operating costs, had by 1963, according to the NEA, reached a "critical plane." In that year, the state raised its education budget by ten per cent, the biggest increase up to that time. It fell far short of the need, however, and the governor vetoed a bill to raise teachers' salaries. This March the OEA declared sanctions against the state and asked the NEA to follow suit in May. Two weeks before, on April 27, the voters had turned down a one-cent increase in the two per cent sales tax.

The NEA was to come down much harder on Oklahoma than it had on Utah. For one thing, the channels of communication among Oklahoma's teachers were more difficult to organize. Oklahoma has some 1,100 school districts, Utah only forty. Merely keeping out-of-state teachers from coming in, moreover, would not prove significant. Oklahoma can attract little more than ten per cent of its teachers from outside the state as it is. But the situation in Oklahoma may well have seemed tailor-made for the NEA, encouraged by its success in Utah, to improve on its sanction techniques. At least it appeared eager to do so. It has made a concentrated effort to inform the nation's major corporations and banks of Oklahoma's education deficiencies. For the first time, it set up five "relocation centers" to assist teachers who might want to find teaching positions outside the state and provided an emergency fund for them to draw on if needed. It is too soon to say just how much damage these tactics will or can actually do, but if the angry reaction of Oklahoma's political leaders is any indication, the sanctions already seem to be hurting.

The Governor Burns

"I don't want to talk about sanctions," Governor Henry Bellmon told a press conference on July 7, "except to say they are a paper tiger." He had just signed a new education bill, passed as an emergency measure a few days before, that added $28.7 million to Okla-

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homa's biennial budget for "common" schools and vocational education. The twenty-five per cent increase it represented was by far the greatest in Oklahoma's history. "Sanctions have had no real effect on education in Oklahoma," the governor continued, "except to thoroughly disgrace the state in the eyes of other states and in terms of potential citizens and potential investments. We've done as good a job as we know how. I don't want to hear any more about sanctions in Oklahoma," he said. "I believe the NEA has destroyed whatever confidence people had in it. Sanctions have not lessened our supply of teachers, and have had no influence on the legislators. They were going to pass the bill in any event."

Called a "political accident" in Oklahoma, Henry Bellmon is the first Republican governor the state has ever had. His election in 1962 was the result of a split in the Democratic Party, and at present Bellmon is serving the third of a four-year term from which he cannot succeed himself. Having campaigned, like many governors before him, on a "no new taxes" platform, he has done his best to keep his promise. One of his first acts in office was to veto the bill increasing teachers' salaries passed by the Democratic legislature. One of his latest was to campaign vigorously against the sales-tax increase put before the voters this April. He supported Goldwater, of course, but even if he hadn't he would be considered a good conservative—like many Oklahoma Democrats. "If this state were above the Mason-Dixon Line," a local newscaster observed, "it would be right-wing Republican." As it was, Goldwater got forty-four per cent of the vote.

"What do you think brought on the sanctions?" the governor was asked. "Rivalry between the NEA and the AFT," he replied without hesitation. It is an answer frequently given in Oklahoma. Yet the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Teachers has made few inroads in the state. Its three small chapters lost whatever momentum they might have had among the teachers when the AFL-CIO came out against the sales-tax increase the teachers were supporting. Nationally, however, as a representative of the NEA was willing to concede, "perhaps fifty per cent" of the NEA's new militancy can be attributed to union rivalry. But, it should be remembered, it was the NEA's state affiliate that asked it to come in, not the other way around.

Not many state officials referred to the NEA's report on the "subminimal conditions" in Oklahoma's schools, and if they did bring it up voluntarily, it was usually to dismiss it because the NEA's team of investigators had spent "only a few days" in the state. A "bunch of outsiders," they were. "Not official," the governor said, in dismissing the venerable NEA as "a sort of nebulous thing."

Yet the NEA's report was based largely on an investigation conducted last year at the governor's own request by a Committee of One Hundred whose chairman was an Oklahoma superintendent of schools and president of the American Association of School Administrators. The NEA was quoting from the committee's report when it pointed out that seventy-eight per cent of Oklahoma's high schools have fewer than two hundred pupils and only twelve per cent of these small schools are accredited; that only an average of half a book a year is provided for each pupil in elementary-school libraries; that many elementary teachers have thirty to forty children crowded in their classrooms; and that nine out of ten high-school students have no opportunity for vocational education other than in agriculture and office work. The NEA was also quoting this report when it ticked off the state's shortcomings in regard to special classes for handicapped children.

The NEA's investigating team on its own gathered some additional details of sorry performance: science textbooks published in the 1940's and world maps printed in 1938; antiquated buildings in which students and teachers wore overcoats during the winter classes and others with classes held in the hallways; a science laboratory with no running water and only one cylinder of gas allotted for the year; a school with one pint of disinfectant for the year; and another whose annual outbreak of infectious hepatitis could be traced to its drinking fountains.

Finally, of course, there was the matter of salaries. In 1964, when the governor requested the committee to look into the schools, Oklahoma ranked thirty-third among the states in terms of the average salary paid its instructional staff. Within a year it had dropped to thirty-seventh place. During that time, the national average for instructors' salaries went up by four per cent; in Oklahoma, the average increase amounted to 0.2 per cent.

Governor Bellmon does not feel any responsibility for the fact that sanctions have been invoked. "It has nothing to do with me particularly," he said. Couldn't it be said, for instance, that his veto of a 1963 bill to increase teachers' salaries by $1,000 over a six-year period had some relation to the current trouble? No, the governor didn't see what that had to do with it. "Our problem is to accelerate new industry in the state," he said. The salary-increase bill was "just one of those little public-relations things the legislature does from time to time."

The governor, for his part, had offered a plan called "Operation Giant Stride." He unveiled it last December, calling two statewide teachers' meetings for the occasion. With the help of visual aids, he explained how his plan would give teachers an $800 raise over the next two years; it would also raise the minimum wage for all public employees, add hundreds of miles to the highway program, straighten out the worst curves and provide more highway patrolmen, and strengthen the state's public and mental-health services. "It sounds as if we're talking about an impossible goal," the governor conceded, "but we're not! And the miraculous part," he informed his audience, "is that we can have all the funds for 'Operation Giant Stride' as we need them and . . . without strangling Oklahoma's growth by raising taxes." One local editor dismissed the plan as "visionary." It not only would have required the Democratic legislature's approval and a special election in which the voters would agree to placing the "full faith and credit" of the state behind a $500-million highway bond issue (to be repaid from tolls); it also envisaged the

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further consolidation of reluctant school districts and the shuffling of money from local school accounts to state accounts and back again. In the end, the plan died in a committee of the Democratic-controlled legislature.

Grinding the Mills

The legislature, for its part, feels that with its new education bill it has now done all it can. "Just tell me this," Lonnie Abbott, chairman of the lower house's education committee and a teacher himself, asked Ferman Phillips of the OEA a few days after the new bill had been passed. "Don't you think we've done the best we could?" "Yes, but it's not enough," Phillips replied. "We've spent our entire surplus over the next two years, to tell the truth," Abbott said. Although the new bill will raise teachers' salaries an average of $500 over the next two years, they will still fall short by $500 of the present national average.

"I know it's not enough," Speaker of the House J. D. McCarty told me. The easily aroused speaker had risen in the house shortly after the bill was passed to attack the NEA as a bunch of "hypocritical psychos," and to call its executive director a "nincompoop." Claiming that the NEA was only using Oklahoma as a "whipping boy," he offered a resolution demanding that the OEA request the NEA to lift its sanctions. It won unanimous approval. In addition to the new education bill, the legislature has also submitted a constitutional amendment to the people, to be voted on September 14, that would permit localities to raise their tax limit for schools by ten mills. It could mean $28 million to $30 million more a year for schools, if it passes and if every district raises its rates. It was one of the OEA petitions offered the voters last November; it lost only because it did not get a majority of all votes cast in the election. It did win a majority of those voting on it.

"Even if the millage amendment passes," McCarty said, "it's still not enough. We'll need additional funds. Two years from now, we'll certainly need more money."

Why hadn't the legislature, with its four-to-one Democratic control, passed a sales-tax increase itself, instead of handing the decision over to the electorate? "We didn't have the votes," McCarty explained. "We couldn't get the three-fourths necessary to override the governor's veto." He pulled a sheaf of papers from his desk to show the straw votes which had been taken and which consistently fell short by seven. He had campaigned widely for the sales tax in the April election, flying about the state urging the people to vote "Yes," and when they turned it down by 293,000 to 171,000, whatever hopes he entertained of running for governor in the next election went with it.

Why didn't the legislature raise the state income tax? "We did," said McCarty, speaking for the House. "But our bill died in the Senate." This time, apparently, it wasn't the threat of the governor's veto that

prevented action. "The electorate had just turned down the sales-tax increase when we got the bill," Clem McSpadden, president pro tempore of the Senate, and a popular rodeo announcer, explained. He felt no need to elaborate.

"You can't say any one man is responsible for the situation in Oklahoma," said Richard Morgan, the NEA's representative most closely associated with the recent events in the state. He was all for the sanctions, of course, and spoke enthusiastically of the nationwide response to the relocation centers. "We wrote to six thousand local associations in the thirty-six states that pay higher average teachers' salaries than Oklahoma," Morgan said, "and asked them to list vacancies for which Oklahoma teachers might apply. We got responses from three thousand of them." By July, more than 9,500 positions had been reported "from Burlington, Vermont, across the country, as proof of our solidarity. Some who had no vacancies asked if there was anything else they could do. We told them about the emergency fund. The first contribution, $1,000, came from the state teachers association of Utah." There was an "ambivalence" about the relocation centers, Morgan admitted. "It sounds as if we want to strip the state of teachers. We are trying to keep others out, but we need our soldiers there. We feel we should provide a service, though, for those who want to leave." How many actually relocated will not be known till fall.

Morgan was also enthusiastic about the "terrific splash-over" effect that sanctions have on neighboring states. "Texas teachers credit Oklahoma for their raise," he said, "and after Utah, Idaho teachers asked us to make an investigation, but before sanctions could be applied, the legislature made a forty-two per cent increase in state aid and passed a three per cent sales tax. This is so much more powerful than strikes." Morgan told me of the NEA's plan to send formal letters "to the nation's hundred largest corporations and fifty largest banks," telling them that the NEA had declared sanctions against the state, and why. "The devastating part is that the longer sanctions go on, the more business is affected. And Oklahoma is dying to get new industry and investment capital."

How serious the economic effect of the NEA's latest maneuver will prove to be is an open question, but certainly it has added a new and disturbing dimension to the protest activities of teachers, one whose effect could continue long after sanctions or strikes are over. Governor Bellmon was most disturbed about this aspect of sanctions. "The NEA comes in and gives our state a black eye," and he continued, "Tulsa almost lost a new Borg-Warner plant that will employ five hundred people now and fifteen hundred five to ten years from now." Several mutual

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funds, he said, had dropped Oklahoma utility bonds. And he mentioned an atomic accelerator plant for which Oklahoma was competing.

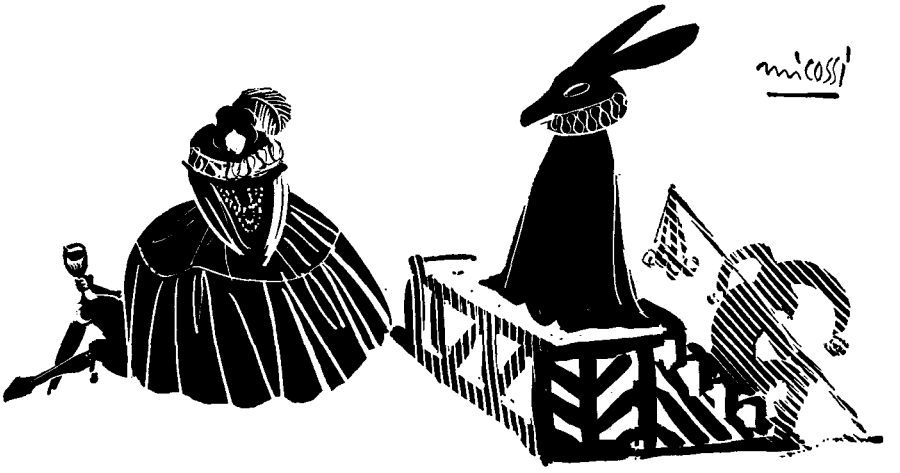
Senator McSpadden had more to add about the atomic accelerator plant. Two committees from Oklahoma City and Tulsa, he said, had gone to the AEC and "The first question they asked them was, 'What about those sanctions?' Then they asked about the water power." Scientists want good schools for their children, and McSpadden estimated that the plant, wherever the AEC decides to locate it, will employ some two thousand physicists.

McCarty was particularly aware of the local businessmen's concern over sanctions. Among the letters he had received praising his attack on the NEA was one, for example, from the Enid Chamber of Commerce, another from the Ford Motor Distributing Company in Oklahoma City. "Since we are competitive with Texas for industrial installations," the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company wrote, sanctions are "a particularly unfortunate development."

The OEA can only guess at the effect that continued sanctions might have on the September vote to increase the millage rate. "These are fairly stubborn people," a local editor pointed out. "They won't be browbeaten by what they consider a bunch of outsiders." The news director of a TV station agreed. "If the sanctions continue," he said, "they'll arouse the stubbornness and intransigence of a people already intransigent enough about paying more taxes."

On August 11, the OEA's board of directors took up the matter of continued sanctions. Its executive committee recommended that it ask the NEA to lift them in part—to close the relocation centers and to remove the ban on out-of-state teachers. The board unanimously accepted the first recommendation (the centers had already closed at the beginning of summer) and rejected the second. Most likely the NEA will follow suit. On September 14, the voters will again take their turn to speak. But even if they pass the amendment to raise the millage rate, it won't be enough, as McCarty admitted. Two years from now, the state will need still more money for its education.

VIEWS & REVIEWS



Stratford: A Theatre In Search of Itself

ROBERT HAPGOOD

WHY isn't it better? Is this really the best we can do? These are invariably the questions in my mind after a visit to the American Shakespeare Festival Theater at Stratford, Connecticut. This year is no exception, Morris Carnovsky's splendid King Lear notwithstanding. The English Stratford may shock as well as excite with the audacity of its young directors, but it leaves no doubt that it is the best Shakespeare in the world. The Canadian Stratford by comparison seems safe, solid, and burgherly, although it has had its moments of daring. Unlike the English, its appeal is more to the eye than to the mind. Yet it too is unquestionably of international stature, with a magnificent playhouse that has led the way to a whole new style of staging.

Both of these Stratfords enjoy a rich depth and continuity in their rosters of actors, helping them to develop characteristic ensemble styles while permitting them to experiment. But the American Stratford? Its directors are blazing no trails; its playhouse is setting no precedents (its stage, in fact, is an embarrassment, a bad compromise between the old proscenium and the new "thrust" styles); its company is transient, weak, thin, and unpromising. Even so, Stratford-on-Housatonic has assumed the role of a national institution, twice presenting "command performances" at the White House and annually introducing thousands of schoolchildren to Shakespeare. Thus far, fortunately, it has not gone abroad.

THE CONNECTICUT FESTIVAL can do better than it has been doing, as its *King Lear* proves. Carnovsky's performance as Lear is masterful. Moment by moment, it is very much what it was last summer in Los Angeles, but with a new coherence. Here are the same powerful incarnations of Lear's successive selves—the ritual king, the noble huntsman, the outraged father, the mad philosopher, the foolish, fond old man. This season's Lear, however, is closer to laughter and tears, and the result has a unity that it did not have before, adding up to the ironic and moving tragedy of a man who never knows the full manhood

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for which he is so extraordinarily endowed. To become human—to learn to see clearly and feel for others, to forgive and be forgiven, even to talk in natural tones instead of an imperious bass—Carnovsky's Lear must shake off the superfluity of his superhuman powers. But in doing so, he loses all. He comes to manhood too late and ends in dotage, with shreds enough of his innate royalty and humanity to make us marvel and grieve at what a piece of work he might have been.

The rest of the production is effectively stark, stripped of the vagaries of Connecticut's 1963 version. The stage itself is bare much of the time. Richard Mathews as the Fool, Stephen Joyce as Edgar, and Patrick Hines as Gloucester provide able support; and Roy Poole's Kent is excellent, both when he speaks and —even better—when he only stands and waits, observing and responding. It was his grief for Lear, registered in a voice ever so slightly and briefly out of control, that brought my own tears.

Why haven't there been more productions of this caliber at Connecticut? Why are the others this year, as in the past, so poor? Chiefly, the festival has lacked sustained direction, a guiding sense of what Shakespeare can mean for a modern American audience. After dispensing with John Houseman and Jack Landau, with their attempt to Broadwayize Shakespeare, it seemed in recent years to be settling down under Allen Fletcher to an era of tepid costume drama. But both this year and last, a production has changed directors in mid-course, and the latest word is that Fletcher will not continue as artistic director. A decade after its founding, the American Stratford has still to find itself.

Until the death in 1963 of its founder, Lawrence Langner, the festival was at least forward-looking in this search. This has hardly been the case in the last two seasons. Besides Carnovsky's recent revival of his 1963 King Lear, Douglas Watson last year redid his Richard III, a performance that at the San Diego festival in 1961 was full of fire but at Connecticut seemed merely warmed-over. And this year's *The Taming of the Shrew*, directed by Joseph Anthony, throws back to the old Broadwayizing approach—*Kiss Me Kate* without the music.

Connecticut's executive producer and chairman of the board of trustees, Joseph Verner Reed, Sr., is backward-looking in still another sense. In a program note entitled "The Dream: American Shakespeare," he sees the festival's primary problem as one of achieving a level of diction and deportment that is "up to the Shakespearian tradition of England." That, he explains, has been the goal of the festival's current training program. What Mr. Reed fails to see is that the Age of Gielgud is past, that present-day English Shakespeare is the best there is, not because of the elegance of its speech and carriage but because of the bold vigor of its directors. Such a "dream" is scarcely one to lift the heart and fire the imagination. If American Shakespeare is ever to find itself, it will surely have to look deeper and aim higher.

The festival is in serious need of better actors. America is notoriously short of first-rate Shakespearians: Carnovsky is our only leading actor of real importance, we haven't a single comic heroine fully worthy of the name, and major supporting actors are almost equally scarce. Yet, after all allowances for these shortcomings, Connecticut's company is remarkably weak, alarmingly so, in fact, considering that it is in the third year of its much-heralded training program, sponsored by the Ford Foundation. And it shows no signs of getting better.

Apart from Carnovsky, Philip Bosco is the only leading player at Stratford this season of any effectiveness, and his Coriolanus is hardly more than a Roman Hotspur. John Cunningham's Petruchio is merely Henry Higgins with a horsewhip, and Ruby Dee's Shrew is no shrew at all. Of the supporting actors, other than those brought in especially for *King Lear*, only Patrick Hines and Josef Sommer have any notion of the opportunities that Shakespeare's dialogue affords. The rest treat their lines as the merest speechifying.

What of the company's younger members, shown off this year in *Romeo and Juliet*? What new talent has the festival discovered? That is most disturbing of all. Terence Scammell as Romeo has one good moment when he is appalled at having killed Tybalt, but he is afflicted with a relentlessly "musical" mode of speaking. Ted Graeber shows some life as a playboy Tybalt. And that is about it. The amateurs at the Ashland, Oregon, festival are often more promising.

Far from achieving even Mr. Reed's minimal goals of diction and deportment, the festival's training program seems at this point an all but total failure. If the actors generally speak their speeches less sluggishly on the tongue than formerly, many of the younger ones do so by using a kind of stilted Anglo-American dialect, obviously acquired, obviously foreign to them, and ideally suited to preventing Shakespeare's words from ever becoming their own. As for stage deportment, Menenius

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repeatedly scratched his nose, a Roman spear carrier smirked, Edmund stumbled over his cloak, and Cornwall dropped his dagger, "killing" his servant by hitting him in the stomach!

Clearly, the festival has a job to do. What might be done? How might the festival, at long last, find itself?

The company could be strengthened in a number of ways. The Canadian Stratford achieved immediate distinction with transplanted English performers and has since cross-fertilized this nucleus with Canadian talent to evolve a style of its own. Connecticut probably shouldn't go this far; in its first year, in fact, it tried to follow the Canadian example and failed. But it should not be so narrowly "American" as to exclude the stimulus it could gain from much more frequent use of English and Canadian directors, stars, and major supporting players. Perhaps Orson Welles or Irene Worth would come home occasionally to help out for a summer.

By way of building a continuing company, Connecticut should do more than it does toward attracting the very best products of our minor-league Shakespeare festivals. It should radically cut its present turnover (by my count, more than half of this year's actors are new). And it should aim in its training program for Shakespearian essences as well as externals, spending less time on judo and more on the meaning of the lines.

IN ITS SEARCH for contemporaneity, Connecticut needs to use more and different directors and thereby to diversify its approach. Different plays, after all, respond to different methods. For example, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with using Broadway techniques in Shakespeare's comedies. The trouble comes when the techniques take over, as has so often been the case.

Connecticut might also try some enlightened Off-Broadwayizing, our classic modern playwrights being probably our best guides to what today is most alive in Shakespeare. *Troilus and Cressida* would reward this approach, not because it provides a chance to dress up the Trojan War in costumes of the American Civil War (as in the 1961 Connecticut version) but because of its anti-heroic mood and Albee-like vituperations. But here, too, there is danger that the approach will take over. English directors like Peter Hall and Peter Brook, for example, tend to see Shakespeare as "our contemporary" in a sense that reduces him to a Beckett or a Brecht.

Connecticut's best hope, however, is not in such self-conscious modernity and Americanism but simply in approaching the plays as directly, freshly, vitally, openly, honestly, completely, bravely, and profoundly as it knows how, trusting that what its modern American performers find humanly appealing will appeal as well to its modern American audiences. That is what happened, I believe, this summer in *King Lear*, which beneath its primitive externals seems to me in this production a thoroughly American tragedy. Carnovsky's Lear is not a traditional tragic hero in the sense of being a man who has everything and then, through misfortune or some shortcoming, loses it all. His tragedy is essentially one of deprivation, of missing out, of never having the splendid manhood that first his consuming role as king and then his old age usurp. In this, he is like many other figures of the American imagination who in a lesser but comparable way have been inescapably thwarted and unable to realize their often extraordinary human potential. Like them, too, but on the grandest scale, he and his tragedy leave us with an ennobling sense of what might have been for him and what might be for us. Not that I imagine Carnovsky had any such formulation in mind: the modernity and Americanness of his Lear seem to have come of themselves.

Seen thus, an American Shakespeare theatre need not merely follow current trends but set them. The possibilities for doing so are endless, but there is one that appears especially promising. My guess is that more than for any other reason Shakespeare appeals to the spectators who year after year attend our festivals because his men and women, confronted with problems very like their own, respond to them heroically. His is a theatre of heroes, in a time when our writers have deliberately turned their backs on the heroic possibility. It is a hard, unsaintly kind of heroism that Shakespeare offers, one often, as in Lear, compounded with folly—it being part of his own heroism to keep an eye for humanity's strengths while seeing all its frailties. But it is heroism all the same, and the more revelant to us for being hard-won.

A THEATRE of heroes! That is the trend I would like to see American Shakespeare set. In any case, and whatever direction the Connecticut festival now takes, one hopes that it will be more heroic in its quest for itself than it has been lately—bold, exploratory, taking risks, all-out.

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BOOKS

Two Descriptions Of the Elephant

SANTHA RAMA RAU

AN AREA OF DARKNESS, by V. S. Naipaul. *Macmillan. $5.95.*

THE ANGUISH OF INDIA, by Ronald Segal. *Stein and Day. $6.50.*

In these two very disparate books, each author seems somehow to have missed the point of the "vast subcontinent" in his individual way. V. S. Naipaul, an excellent novelist, an Indian born in Trinidad and living in England, in *An Area of Darkness* recounts his impressions of his first visit to his "homeland." Ronald Segal, a white South African by birth and upbringing, says with naïve candor on his first page that he has approached India "with an African neutrality and without the standards and preconceptions of someone accustomed only to the rich white societies of the West" (even though he studied at Trinity College, Cambridge). Having lived in South Africa and remembering the signs outside hotels, cinemas, restaurants, etc., clearly stating that Indians and "natives" were not permitted entrance, I found this engaging innocence something less than convincing as a guarantee of "neutrality."

Mr. Naipaul spent a year in India, Mr. Segal three months. Both traveled widely, both met and talked to a variety of people, both came to the conclusion that actually India isn't a country at all, that it is, at best, a political arrangement of widely divergent states and people loosely bound by a not very viable idea of nationhood. But they arrived at this conclusion in ways that could hardly be more different in style and attitude.

Naipaul is interested in people, in even the most casual encounter on a train or at a party, accounts of which he intersperses with a kind of quasi-philosophical comment I often had trouble understanding. For example, in remarking on Gandhi's call to Indians to serve their country in the spirit of the "selfless action" advocated in the Bhagavad-Gita, he says: "But this is only Indian distortion, the eternal Indian attempt to incorporate and nullify. The Gita's selfless action is a call to self-fulfillment and at the same time a restatement of degree" —quite the opposite, he claims, of what Gandhi meant. What Naipaul means, he leaves the reader to guess.

Segal, on the other hand, is more interested in India as a Problem. As he flatly states: "I am an unregenerate materialist and in my view no sense of mystery or grace of manner, no delicacy of movement and form, can compensate for the massive damage done by Indian hunger. That is my limitation, and the consequent limitation of this book." Indeed, it *is* a limitation, for to view the oldest religious society in the world without a sense or feeling for its philosophic heritage and the present-day importance of that heritage is like traveling half-blind, at twilight, through an unfamiliar landscape.

PERHAPS the thing that struck me most forcefully about both books was the utter horror with which their authors realized the fact of India's poverty. Had it never occurred to them that most of the world's population lives in abject poverty? Don't they understand that to live in such a country at all one must to some degree become, if not impervious, at least accustomed to the manifestations of extreme deprivation? Didn't they meet any of the thousands and thousands of privileged Indians who *do* make efforts to alleviate conditions, knowing always that their contribution to such overwhelming poverty is only the smallest drop in the largest bucket?

But the attitude of the two writers toward the poverty that so astonished them both is quite different. Naipaul feels that the Indian nature sees poverty as "something which, thought about from time to time in the midst of other preoccupations, releases the sweetest of emotions." This emotion is not "an urge to anger or improving action, but . . . an inexhaustible source of tears, an exercise of the purest sensibility." Segal, equally outraged, interprets the Indian attitude toward poverty as one of "indifference." He cites as one of several examples a businessman he interviewed and to whom he pointed out the existence of slums close by. The businessman replied that he thought they had been cleared by now; he hadn't noticed they were still there. From such evidences, Segal is convinced that India's plight will eventually lead to a conquest of the country by Chinese Communism in both a military and an ideological sense.

Facts disprove both theses. It has been said that the great failure of British rule in India was ignoring, for the most part, the education of the people and the development of the resources of the country. It is precisely those gaps that India is now trying to fill—slowly and painfully and on a very meager budget. Every one of India's three Five-Year Plans, and the projected fourth one, has been designed to improve the conditions under which the vast majority of Indians live. Dam projects of the TVA variety, irrigation projects, the support of industries for greater urban employment, housing of industrial workers, subsidization of village handicrafts—the list could go on indefinitely—have, in the end, the sole purpose of raising Indian living standards. They do not indicate that Indians are wallowing in poverty for the release of "the sweetest of emotions" or that they are indifferent to conditions around them.

As for Communism taking over in India, when the northern frontier was attacked by the Red Chinese armies, the entire country united in the effort to repel the invasion. India, moreover, is perhaps the only country in the world in which one of the states (Kerala) democratically elected a Communist government, only to remove it from power con-

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THE REPORTER

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stitutionally when the people found that rigidity of rule did not suit them. But aside from these overt evidences, it is precisely the inner philosophy of the greatest number of Indians, a philosophy that neither of these writers seems to have explored or understood, that will keep India from becoming Communist. A country in which, a saying goes, four people together will produce five opinions is scarcely the climate for regimentation.

Now let me tell you more about Naipaul's *An Area of Darkness.* It lies somewhere between a travelogue and a series of vignettes, some of them sharp and witty (the author's gift for mockery seems better developed than his capacity for human warmth), some merely tiresome. In exacting detail we are told about his arrival in Bombay: "To be in Bombay was to be exhausted. The moist heat sapped energy and will" —not an unusual experience for anyone who has been in New York or Washington during the summer months. He describes with meticulous accuracy his annoyances with petty bureaucracy, the tedium and confusion of arrival in India. Evidently he expected the relatively smooth procedures of ports and airports in England or America.

He is overcome by the inefficiency of everything from the plumbing to workings of the government offices. People lie to him and steal from him. Northerners call their fellow Indians from the South "darkies" and "niggers." Southerners consider the North uncultured and money-minded. Some people are kind and helpful to him, but it turns out that they are only silly society women with too much money and too much time on their hands. He managed to visit Kashmir without once remarking on the beauty or the grandeur of the Himalayas. To him "Religion was spectacle, and festivals, women veiled . . . breeding like battery hens; it was the ceremonial washing of the genitals in public before prayers"; it was "this complete day-filling, season-filling mixture of the gay, the penitential, the hysterical and, importantly, the absurd." What it wasn't, apparently, was one of the subtlest, oldest, and most profound philosophies in the world.

Kipling, Naipaul suggests, has said it all. "No writer was more honest or accurate; no writer was more revealing of himself and his society." Alas for those misguided admirers of E. M. Forster! Very near the end of the book, Naipaul admits to an attitude that has been clear to the reader from the earliest pages: "I had learned my separateness from India, and was content to be a colonial."

There is a moment of hope that India has changed something of his view: "A year before," he writes at the end of his stay, "I might have been appalled by what I was seeing. But my eye had changed. This village looked unusually prosperous; it was even picturesque." The women were attractive, their saris clean and white. But that hope is soon dashed. This is a "Brahmin village," not at all typical of the desolation and dirt that composes most of the country. Naipaul leaves India with his disillusion intact because, of course, his plane is delayed and to wait at the airport "intermittently experiencing the horrors of an Indian public lavatory, is to know anxiety, exasperation, and a creeping stupor." On the whole, I had the same feelings about his book.

Ronald Segal's *The Anguish of India* is both more serious and more factual than *An Area of Darkness.* It is informative, conscientious, and filled with research. It abounds in footnotes, maps, charts, tables, and offers an imposing bibliography —in short, Segal has done his homework thoroughly.

When I was at Wellesley, I first heard the jingle, "You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink; You can send a boy to Harvard, but you can't make him think." I do not mean to be uncharitable, but *The Anguish of India* illustrates this principle in, of course, quite another way. An exposure to facts, visual or literary, does not necessarily ensure either understanding or a true evaluation of a country—particularly one as complex as India. Neither does it reveal problems that concern human motives and feelings.

Dutifully, Segal gives his reader a brief outline of Indian history, religion, and customs, in which brevity, given the nature and diversity of the country, turns out to be the soul of oversimplification. It is clear, for example, that he has read the Bhagavad-Gita. Even though he seems to have missed its poetry, he must surely know that crucial and celebrated command from the deity to Arjuna, the warrior reluctant to enter a battle against his relatives and friends for all the righteousness of his cause: *"Taking as equal* pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, gird thee for battle" (the italics are mine). Yet Segal is capable of writing, "I used to think hatred was degrading. Hatred is human. But there is no degradation like indifference. Indifference is the final denial of humanity." Is it actually indifference, or is it perhaps the working of different values in life? Is it even, perhaps, a *greater* human achievement?

Segal's strongest sections are those on what he calls India's "economic precipice" and its modern politics. Here he is on more familiar ground and can demonstrate such facts as that though India's needs in material aid are the largest in the world, it receives from the United States less per capita than any other aid-receiving nation. In the political field, like most visitors, he is impressed by the fragmentation of the country, the rivalry—even hostility—between states that share no common language or tradition. He notes with alarm corruption of government, feels that the policy of nonalignment has collapsed, that "it is doubtful whether India has had a coherent structure of foreign policy at all," that "in economic affairs she has displayed only contradiction and confusion." He quotes an anonymous Indian critic of the country's foreign relations as saying, "We react to each crisis and stagger because we have not yet fallen." To me, the operative sentiment is not the staggering but the fact that "we have not yet fallen."

India continues to be a democracy by constitution and (with many malfunctionings) in its general practice. Even though the author insists that India is misguided in directing "her attention to the world beyond," that its proper job is to cope with disintegration and economic problems at home, Indians believe that they are

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part of the world and concerned in its affairs.

Reading *The Anguish of India*, I was reminded of a remark that Nehru once made to me. I had asked him what was the most exciting time of his life. He replied, at once, "Oh, of course, the fight for independence—" Then he checked himself abruptly. "No, I'm wrong. No. *This* is the most exciting time. What could be more challenging than the forging of a nation? Think of the scope of our task. This is the Great Experiment."

Waging War With Winston

GORDON A. CRAIG

WAVELL: SCHOLAR AND SOLDIER, by John Connell. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $8.75.*

In the second volume of his memoirs, Anthony Eden has written that one of the hardest tasks he had during his term as Secretary of State for War in the Churchill cabinet was to protect the army and its commanders from constant criticism by the prime minister. In July, 1940, he finally felt compelled to go to 10 Downing Street with Sir John Dill, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and remonstrate with Churchill, pointing out that his charges were unjust and damaging to the army and that if this sort of thing continued he and Dill would have to hand in their resignations. "Churchill gave us a soothing reply," he writes, "but thereafter the balance was better kept."

This was true only for a while. The trouble was that Churchill never had much faith in professional soldiers, whereas he possessed a sublime confidence in his own military judgment and his own talent for strategical and tactical decision. Despite Eden's efforts, this combination was bound to lead to further criticism and to resultant friction with British commanders in the field; and it did so, notably in the case of the Commander in Chief in the Middle East, General A. P. Wavell.

Readers of John Connell's brilliant biography will have little difficulty in understanding why conflict between Wavell and the prime minister was well-nigh inevitable. Wavell was the professional soldier par excellence, who had trained himself systematically for his command in a long series of staff and troop assignments dating back to the Boer War. He had worked with such outstanding talents as Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson and General Sir William Robertson, and, in the last years of the First World War, had served with Allenby in Palestine, an experience that had left an indelible mark on his career. In Palestine, Wavell "saw the principles of staff work, administration, organization, planning, intelligence and operational control, in which he had been trained and which had been lost and forgotten in the mud and muddle of Flanders, restored and given meaning and purpose. He saw a whole campaign planned and executed, not without a hitch, but with clean-cut professional skill and drive, and an attention to detail which henceforth he was never to forget or underrate." In the years between the wars, in his various commands and particularly in the provocative lectures that he delivered at staff colleges, Wavell continually emphasized the factors that had won victory in the desert war of 1917 and 1918: thorough infantry training, adequate supply, methodical and careful administration, sound intelligence of the enemy, support by other arms, utmost secrecy before the battle, utmost mobility during it.

But none of these things (except the last) meant much to Winston Churchill, a robust and combative nature impatient with the systematic and unexciting aspects of war. His military ideas had been formed in an earlier and less complicated age. As Wavell wrote after he had assumed his Middle East command, Churchill "never realized the necessity for full equipment before committing troops to battle. I remember his arguing that because a comparatively small number of mounted Boers had held up a British division in 1899 or 1900, it was unnecessary for the South African Brigade to have much more equipment than rifles before taking the field in

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1940. In fact I found that Winston's tactical ideas had to some extent crystallised at the South African War. . . . His fertile brain was always inventive or receptive of new tactical ideas and weapons, but I do not think that right up to the end he ever understood the administrative side of war; he always accused commanders of organizing 'all tail and no teeth.'"

Even without these differences, it is unlikely that Wavell and Churchill could have gotten along well for long. Temperamentally, they were far apart, for while Churchill was emotional, enthusiastic, and outgoing, Wavell, like Haig before him, was contemplative, remote, and taciturn. "I do not think Winston quite knew what to make of me," he wrote after their first encounter, "and whether I was fit to command or not." Moreover, if the prime minister distrusted professional soldiers, Wavell had no very high opinion of politicians. He never forgot the difficult position into which British officers had been forced during the Ulster crisis of 1914 as a result of irresponsible speeches by cabinet ministers, and notably by the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill. Finally, there can be no doubt that Churchill asked more of Wavell than that commander could give him. Wavell was willing to accept policy directives from London and to carry them out loyally and to the best of his ability. But he believed that as long as he held command his right to make decisions within his own sphere of authority should be recognized. He could not surrender his integrity and independence of judgment, and that is precisely what Churchill demanded of him.

No one who studies the campaign of December, 1940, in which British forces advanced 400 miles from Mersa Matruh to Benghazi, taking 125,000 Italian prisoners and more than 1,000 guns, or the subsequent liquidation of the Italian Empire in the brilliant East African campaign of the spring of 1941 (a victory obscured by the disastrous battles of Greece and Crete) will doubt that Wavell was one of the outstanding commanders of the war. It is Connell's contention that

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neither of these victories would have been won if Churchill had had his way—if, for instance, Wavell had followed the detailed tactical instructions (down to forward and rear disposition of battalions) that the prime minister sent to him while he was planning his attack westward, or if he had yielded to Churchill's insistence that the East African campaign be conducted on the basis of a defensive strategy of attrition (instead of Wavell's brilliant three-pronged offensive against vastly superior forces).

In both cases, Wavell was able to maintain his independence of tactical decision only by stubbornness, delay, courteous but ruthless demolition of the prime minister's elaborate directives, and—when nothing else would do—deliberate withholding of detailed information from Churchill until he was ready to move. The last tactic was necessary for security reasons, but it infuriated Churchill, already angry over Wavell's attempts to instruct him in the art of war. Sir John Dill once said that a remark by Wavell to the effect that "a big butcher's bill was not necessarily evidence of good tactics," in a dispatch defending one of his subordinates who had retreated in the face of overwhelming enemy strength, roused Churchill to greater anger than he had ever seen before.

But this was nothing to the explosion that occurred after the desert flank, weakened by withdrawals of men, equipment, air, and armor to Greece, collapsed under Rommel's first offensive thrust in April, 1941, and when the prime minister inadvertently heard from the Director of Military Operations, Major-General Kennedy, that Wavell had a plan for withdrawal from Egypt should it be forced upon him. "Wavell has 400,000 men," Churchill shouted. "If they lose Egypt, blood will flow. I will have firing parties to shoot the generals!," and—when Kennedy protested that every provident general must have such a plan—"This comes like a flash of lighting to me. I never heard such ideas. War is a contest of wills. It is pure defeatism to speak as you have done."

It is clear that from this time on Churchill was determined to replace Wavell, and it is probably true that it was time for Wavell to go, not only because commanders must have the confidence of their governments but because he was worn out by the effort demanded to carry on war on three fronts in the Middle East and an additional one in London. Connell feels, however, with some justification, that the prime minister was less than magnanimous in the summary way in which he bundled Wavell off to India in June, 1941, without permitting him to come home on leave lest he suggest in some public way that he had been mistreated.

In a lecture which he was writing shortly before his death, Wavell sought to put down standards for what he called "the Sixth Form of generalship." He wrote: "I would consider only one who had handled large forces in an independent command in more than one campaign; and who had shown his qualities in adversity as well as in success. I then proposed to judge him by his worth as a strategist; his skill as a tactician; his power to deal tactfully with his Government and his allies; his ability to train troops or direct their training; and his energy and driving power in planning and in battle." Judged by these standards, Wavell comes off as well as any other British commander in the Second World War, and he might have come off even better if he had not been forced in his last months of command to yield to the system of close and detailed War Cabinet control.

Going His Own Way

GERALD WEALES

THE FINAL BEAST, by Frederick Buechner. *Atheneum. $4.50.*

Frederick Buechner's fiction has a monkey on its back. It is Simon, Tristram Bone's pet monkey, which came to such a disastrous end in Buechner's first novel, *A Long Day's Dying* (1950). Near the end of the book, Bone, contemplating suicide, draws the blunt edge of a straight

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razor across his throat; Simon, having made a career of imitating Bone, picks up the discarded razor and, lacking man's capacity for the metaphorical gesture, cuts his throat in earnest. Everyone, it seems, remembers that monkey. In the last few weeks, one person after another —on being told that I was reading the novels of Buechner—nodded and said, "Oh, yes, the monkey with the razor."

IT IS not only Simon that Buechner has to carry around, but that first novel and its reception. *A Long Day's Dying* was received warmly; words like "nuance," "mannered," and "Mandarin" were used, mostly as compliments, and Henry James and Elizabeth Bowen were invoked. Truman Capote was at the height of his popularity then, and Buechner was compared to him. When Buechner's second novel, *The Season's Difference,* came along several months later and turned out to be about a religious vision that never materialized (if that is what visions do), the reception was less happy. "Nuance" tended to give way to "preciousness." A reviewer in the *Library Journal* complained of "an arty attempt at developing a feeling of mysticism." The thing that was disturbing to the critics was that Buechner, safely labeled as one of the new decadents, had slipped his leash and set out after game of his own.

In the two novels that have come out since then—*The Return of Ansel Gibbs* (1958) and *The Final Beast*—he is still on the same spiritual hunt. Shortly after the publication of *The Season's Difference,* he gave up the teaching of English and entered Union Theological Seminary; he was ordained the year *Ansel Gibbs* came out. He is now school minister and head of the religious department at Phillips Exeter Academy. For a clergyman to become a novelist is one thing, but for a presumably decadent novelist to become a clergyman (and a Presbyterian at that) is less easy to encompass. Still, it is a fact of life like martyrdom and malnutrition, and if we are to read Buechner's novels with the respect they deserve, we have to accept that there is a very definite connection between his two vocations. Simon, put down that razor.

On second thought, Simon need not be turned out; Buechner has no need to disown *A Long Day's Dying.* Although it was praised for its style (it *is* ornate to the point of inanity) and its psychological subtlety, it is a great deal more than a mannered look at an unlikely group of people circling nervously around an almost incidental adulterous act. The title comes from *Paradise Lost,* after Adam and Eve have been driven from the Garden, and the novel is about men who carry the mark of the Fall and attempt to pass it on to the next generation ("O hapless seed!" as Milton put it). In all of Buechner's work, there is a line of action (usually involving some spiritual struggle) and a gathering of symbols that relate to the action. His references are often literary or mythic, although he began in the second novel to make remarkable use of ordinary events infused with new meaning, as in the fine scene in *The Season's Difference* in which the dotty old clergyman, playing Statues with the children, re-enacts the Fall. In *A Long Day's Dying,* the symbols are either literary or bizarre, and they are usually overexplained. The style, once considered a virtue of the book, seems now one of its weaknesses. The novel is still absorbing in its own right, but in retrospect it is primarily interesting as a starting point for Buechner's later work. If the end of the book is a little ambiguous, if the birds that abound are symbols of grace as well as of sex, it may be pointing beyond life as a long day's dying. In general, however, it is a picture of the world after the Fall.

IN ALL THREE of the later novels, Buechner is concerned with the possibility of being born again. In *The Season's Difference,* the schoolmaster Cowley, called Cow by the children (which would make him Holy Cow, although Buechner stops short of saying so directly), has a vision on a hillside and attempts to pass it on to the other characters. He fails, of course. It is not simply that the children stage a mock vision, but that all the adults see only what is in themselves. Cowley's rebirth is to be taken as real (whatever his vision may have been). At the end of the novel, Cowley promises to act rather than to wait for miracles, to attempt to convince his friends that their wit, intelligence, and psychological knowledge are all fighting against revelation, are keeping them, to use the children's term, among the Uglies.

The Return of Ansel Gibbs is the story of an intelligent and cultured public servant (he is accused of once having said, "I am civilization") being called to a cabinet post, and then being unable and unwilling to summon the strength to act. The controlling metaphor here is King Saul: "But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him." Ansel's David is Tripp, a surrogate son, a television entertainer, who is able to bring him a momentary sense of peace. One of the most impressive scenes in the book comes at a charity bazaar in Harlem at which Ansel—like Saul throwing the javelin at David—loses control of himself and tries to hurt Tripp, who is playing patsy in the booth where the customers are supposed to hit the clown with wet wads of newspaper. In the end, Ansel rejects King Saul's suicide, actually and metaphorically; he chooses to act again in the world. He comes to accept that his ambivalence toward the world is both real and a torture, but that to embrace that ambiguity is an excuse to die.

The inspiriting power in *The Season's Difference* and *Ansel Gibbs* becomes explicitly Pentecostal in *The Final Beast.* It descends, in fire images, throughout the book, most obviously in the Fourth of July celebration toward the end when "darkness itself had burst apart and Myron was being inundated by fire from beyond the darkness." It is manifested in Theodore Nicolet, the young clergyman, who steps beyond his pose of clownishness and irony, to accept his earthly father, which is to accept himself, and, in the impregnation of Rooney Vail after years of childlessness for which there was no biological explanation, and perhaps, in the final laughter of the embittered Will Poteat, because, as a preacher in the book once said, Christ is crowned not only in tears

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and confession but "amidst *great laughter.*" This power comes, however, only with another martyrdom of Christ, this time in the ludicrous person of Irma Reinwasser—a Jew, an ex-concentration-camp prisoner, psychologically and historically a victim.

Most of Buechner's best qualities are displayed in *The Final Beast*—his intellectuality and his compassion; his delight in and his seriousness about images, a habit of mind derived from the seventeenth-century writers he so admires; his recognition that the spiritual world must take shape—particularly for his secular readers—in the material world of children's swings and picture postcards. As one begins a Buechner novel there is, as William Pfaff said of *A Long Day's Dying,* "a temporary impression of bloodlessness." There are two ways that Buechner's novels give blood to the apparently bloodless. The first is by means of sudden, vivid scenes that arrest a character for a moment, sharpen his outline in an action that often lasts no more than a paragraph or two. The second and more important is the cumulative effect, the gathering of scenes, lines, allusions into a total force that comes down on the reader so strongly that a scene such as the one in the hotel room at the end of *Ansel Gibbs,* for all its deceptive quietness, is more compelling than many a fictional passage that wears its emotions on its sleeve.

In *The Final Beast,* there are a great many of the momentary scenes but the cumulative effect never comes—for me, at least. The intellectual buildup is there, but the accompanying emotional one is missing. *The Final Beast* is Buechner's most ambitious novel to date, an attempt to confront the destructiveness of *A Long Day's Dying* with the rebirth theme of the later books, but the characters keep slipping away, losing their edges in amorphousness.

For all its weaknesses, *The Final Beast* is new evidence that Frederick Buechner is a good and serious novelist, going his own way, exploring his own themes, at a time when even our best novelists seem to swim in schools.

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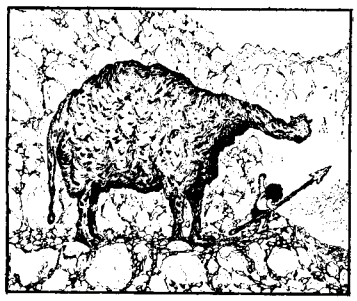

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A Golden 'Twilight'

ROLAND GELATT

EVEN that perfect Wagnerite, Bernard Shaw, had to admit in the end that his favorite way of enjoying a performance of the Ring was "to sit at the back of a box, comfortable on two chairs, feet up, and listen without looking." Today Shaw could listen without looking in even plushier comfort, for the entire tetralogy has now been recorded in stereo, and from the living-room sofa one can hear Wagnerian splendors of a sort that seldom reach the back of an opera box.

The final installment of the stereo Ring has recently been issued, a six-record set of *Götterdämmerung* (London OSA 1604) made in Vienna under the direction of Georg Solti. It has already been widely proclaimed the best of the Ring recordings, but this verdict probably has as much to do with the music itself as with the recorded performance. *Götterdämmerung* is an irresistible piece. Wagner deliberately interrupted work on the Ring in mid-career so that he might sharpen his technique on *Tristan* and *Meistersinger,* and when he finally got to *Götterdämmerung,* at the age of fifty-seven, his genius for orchestration and declamation was at its highest pitch. Moreover, he applied it to a piece of marvelously effective operatic stagecraft. For reasons that have never been fully explained, Wagner turned his back on the principles of "music drama" in *Götterdämmerung* and concluded the Ring with an old-fashioned opera—complete with a love duet and a vengeance trio, a lusty rum-tum-tum chorus, a hero who sings an impassioned farewell after being mortally stabbed, and a heroine who brings down the final curtain with a long display of solo virtuosity. The action moves along at a fast clip; there is none of that ponderous philosophizing which can drive the imperfect Wagnerite to distraction; and Wotan is mercifully absent from the dramatis personae.

There have been many imposing operas subverted by inadequate recordings, but in this case we have a recorded performance that gloriously lives up to the potentialities of the work. To begin with, there is not a weak link in the cast. The Brünnhilde (Birgit Nilsson), Siegfried (Wolfgang Windgassen), Hagen (Gottlob Frick), and Alberich (Gustav Neidlinger) of this performance are acknowledged exemplars of their respective roles. Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, better known as a singer of lieder than of opera, portrays Gunther and lavishes on that equivocal character a wealth of insight rarely encountered in the opera house. A distinguished mezzo now turned soprano, Christa Ludwig, sings the short but important part of Waltraute, the Valkyrie who brings Brünnhilde the dismal news of Valhalla's decline. And for an operatic example of conspicuous consumption there is nothing to surpass the Norns (Grace Hoffman, Anita Välkki, Helen Watts) and Rhine Maidens (Lucia Popp, Gwyneth Jones, Maureen Guy) of this cast, all highly regarded leading ladies on the European circuit. (Hoffman and Välkki normally sing Brünnhilde, Lucia Popp is Europe's reigning Queen of the Night, and Gwyneth Jones is the Welsh soprano who made an international name for herself last fall as an emergency Covent Garden replacement for Leontyne Price.) Solti leads these thoroughbred forces with his customary fervor and brilliance, and also with a sense of the grand line that has sometimes escaped him in the past, and the Vienna Philharmonic plays with its unique opulence of tone.

All in all, a stunning convergence of talent. On an absolute scale one could observe that Nilsson lacks the boundless freedom and rocklike steadiness of Kirsten Flagstad and that Windgassen cannot match the heroic agility of Lauritz Melchior (a recent reissue of the Flagstad-Melchior duet from Act. I, on RCA Victor LM 2763, establishes this beyond any doubt), but we are dealing with the here and now, and under present-day conditions the forces assembled by London Records come as close to the ultimate for *Götterdämmerung* as we are likely to get.

If ever there was a question about recording being an art unto itself, this new *Götterdämmerung* should dispose of it once and for all. It is, to begin with, wondrously open in sound, free of fuzz, resonant but never strident in its climaxes. You can absorb the whole of it in one sitting without enduring the least aural fatigue. And with this near-faultless engineering technique at his command, the British recording director John Culshaw has brilliantly accomplished his purpose of re-creating the drama of *Götterdämmerung* afresh in terms of the loudspeaker and stereo. "Had Wagner lived to know the possibilities of sound recording," Culshaw writes, "he would have wanted them used not only for the sake of the music, but also for the drama." Some of those possibilities are spatial—the disguised Siegfried advancing on Brünnhilde or the Rhine Maidens floating away while Siegfried discourses downstage on the wiles of women. Some of them are atmospheric—the sense of hazy diffusion in the Norn Scene or the eerie extinguishing of Alberich's voice as he disappears from Hagen's semi-consciousness. Some of them are elemental—the menacing thunderclap in the interlude that precedes Waltraute's entrance. Some of them are tonal—the darkening of Siegfried's tenor to a baritonal timbre (accomplished by manipulating tape speeds) as he addresses Brünnhilde in the guise of Gunther. Always they serve the purpose of underlining and strengthening what Wagner meant to convey.

ARTIFICIAL though these means may appear, the result is utterly convincing. One knows in hindsight that this *Götterdämmerung* must have been patched together from dozens of different takes, balanced and rebalanced, filtered and tinkered with. But the effect as one listens to the finished product is of a "live" performance with an inevitable and predestined sweep. The concept of opera "staged for stereo" has never been more successfully espoused.

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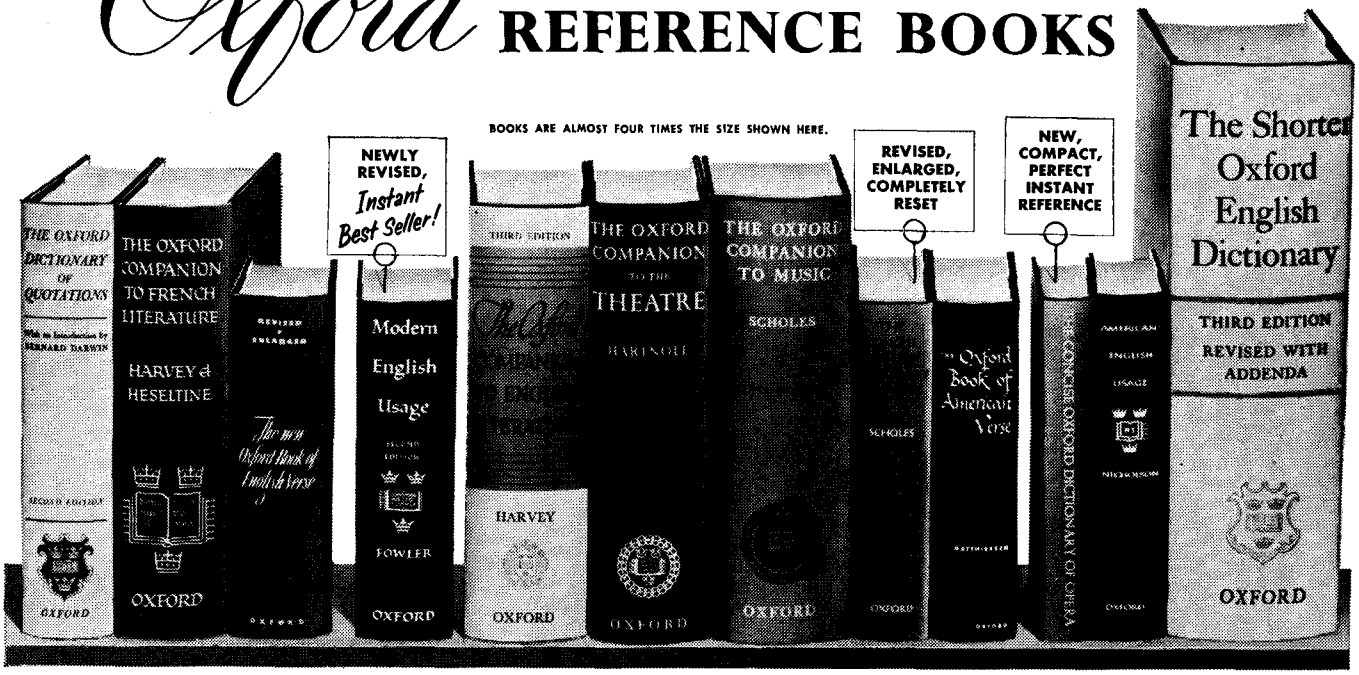

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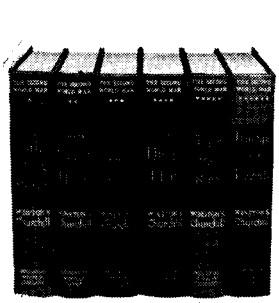

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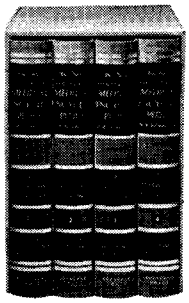

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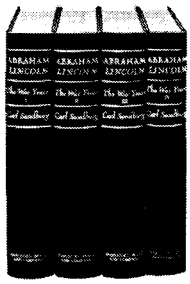

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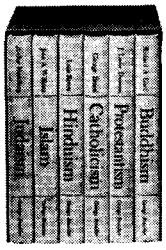

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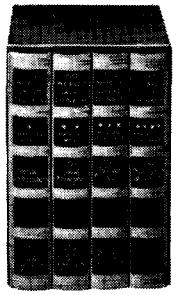

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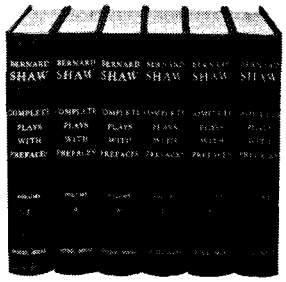

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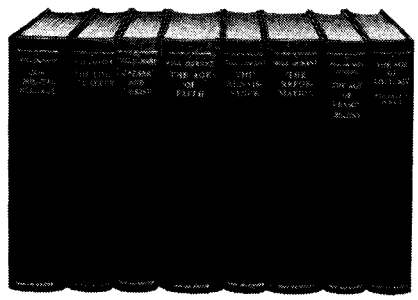

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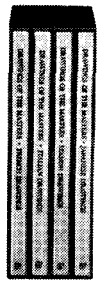

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